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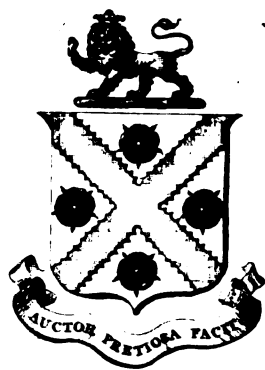
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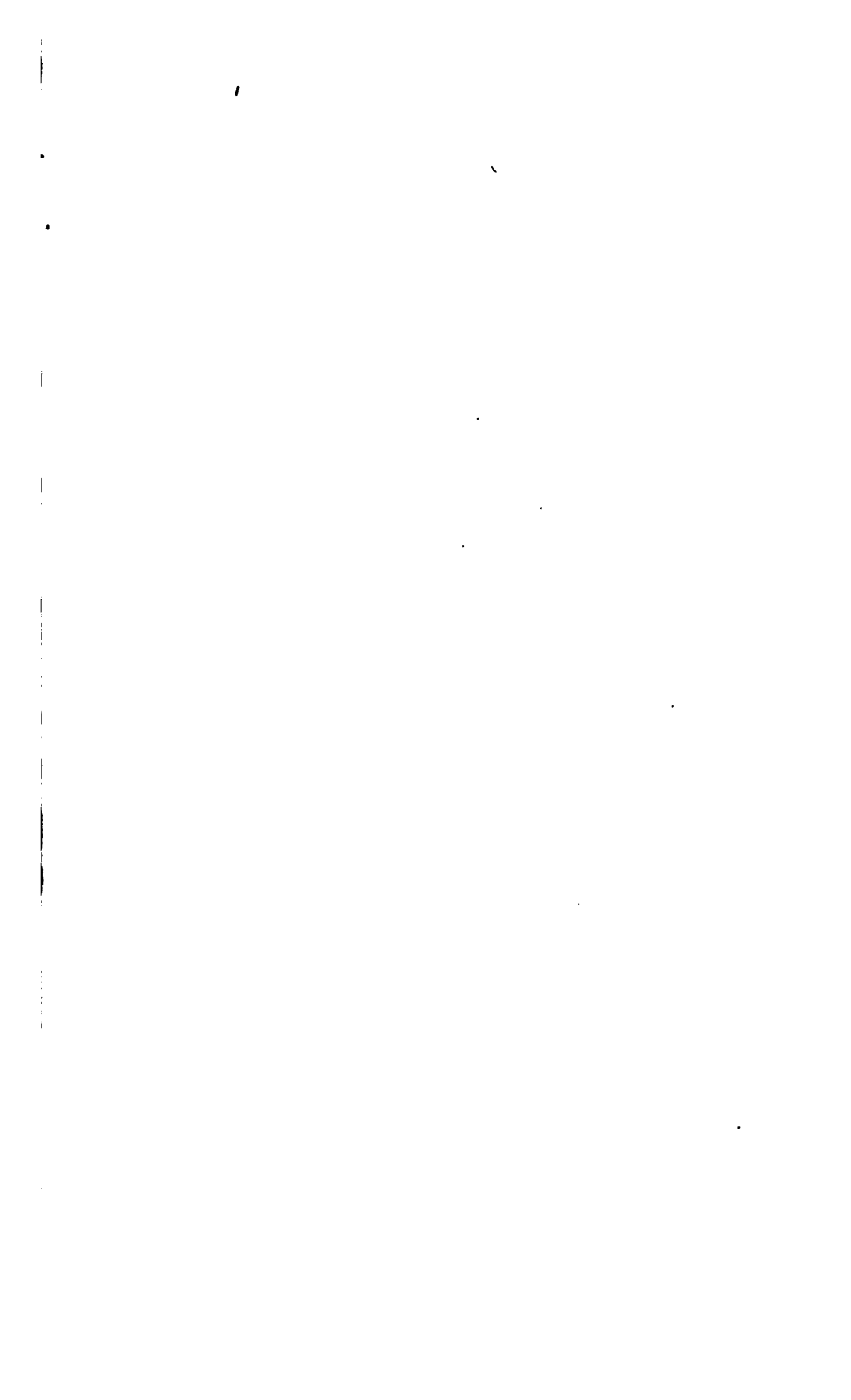


James Lenox.

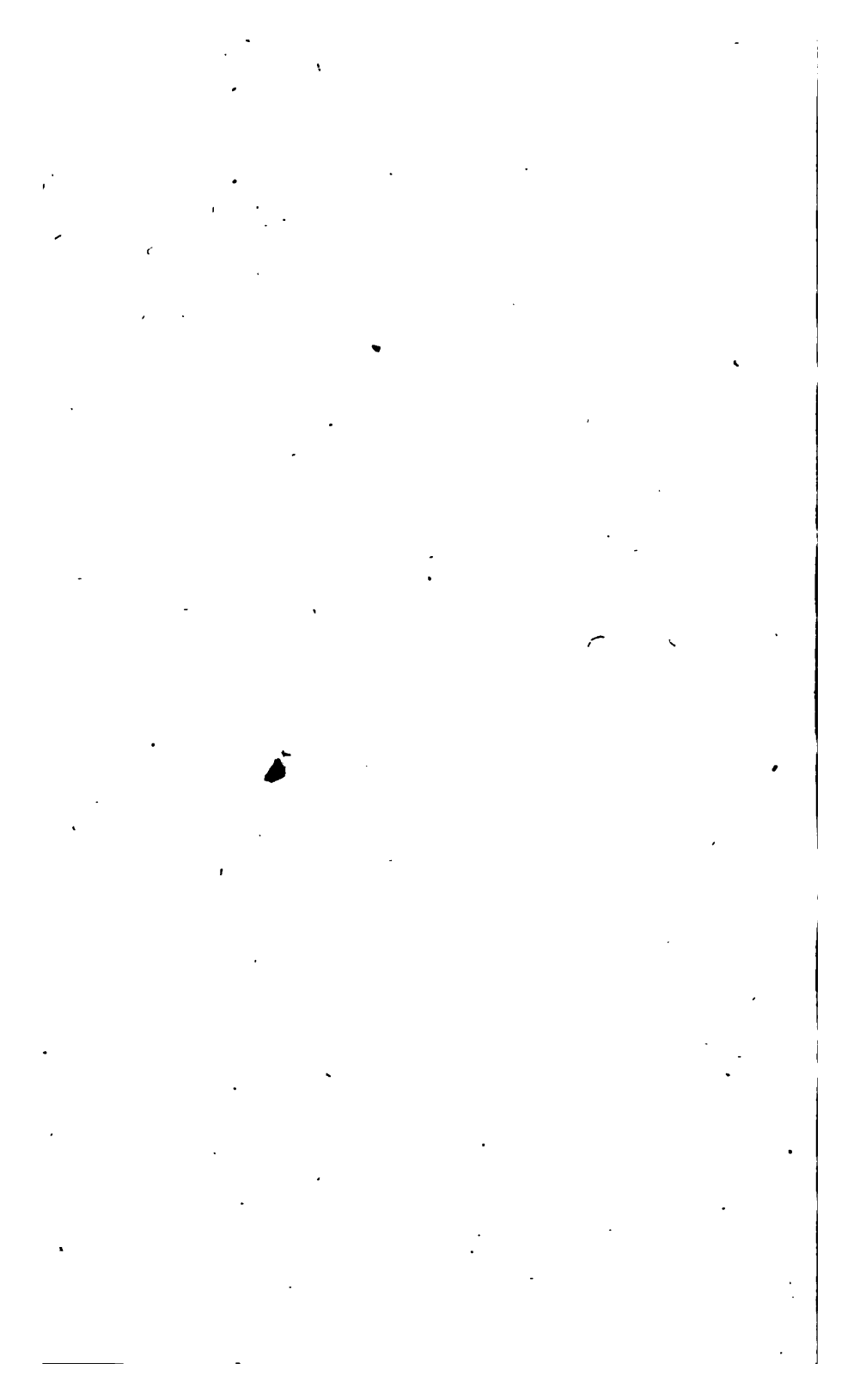
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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
G R E A T B R I T A I N ,

FROM THE
FIRST INVASION OF IT BY THE ROMANS
UNDER JULIUS CÆSAR.

WRITTEN ON A NEW PLAN.

By ROBERT HENRY, D. D.
ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF EDINBURGH, MEMBER OF THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIANS OF SCOTLAND, AND OF
THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH.

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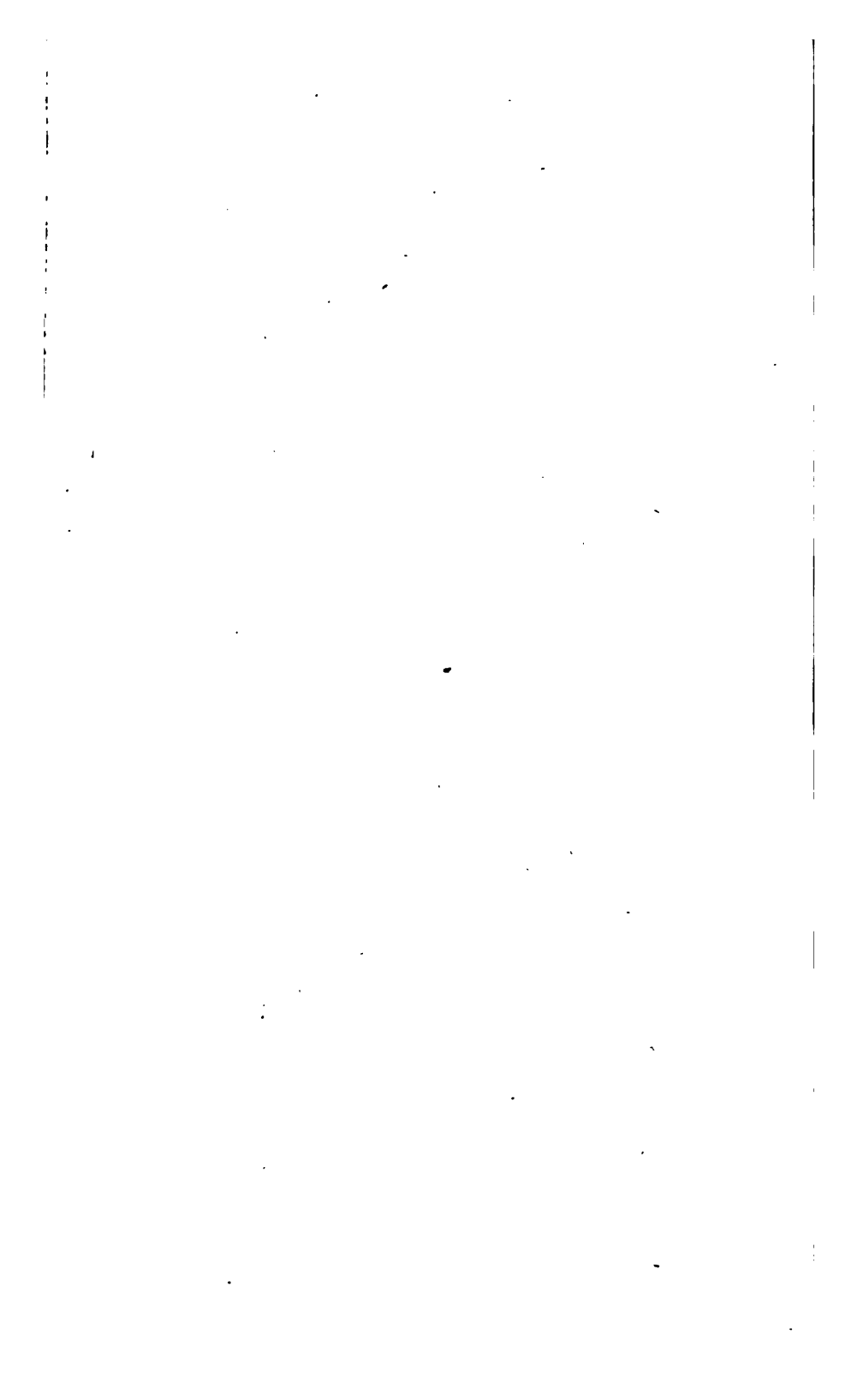
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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Author of this Work, who died in 1790, left some part of the Volumes which are now offered to the Public unfinished; for Chapter V. on *Arts*, and Chapter VII. on *Manners*, &c. he had only sketched out a few of the authorities, and no part of the narrative was written by him : Those two Chapters are entirely the work of MALCOLM LAING Esquire, who has finished them at the request of Dr. Henry's Executors. The whole of the Appendix is also Mr. Laing's ; but the reader may be assured, that every other part of the volumes was completed by Dr. Henry himself, and is faithfully published from his manuscript.



TO
THE MEMORY
OF
WILLIAM Earl of MANSFIELD,
Esq. Esq.
THESE POSTHUMOUS VOLUMES
OF
THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

ARE RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

BY Dr. HENRY'S EXECUTORS,

H. MONCREIFF WELLWOOD,

WM BALDERSTONE,

WM FINLAY.

☞ Dr. HENRY was always proud of the friendship with which the late EARL of MANSFIELD had honoured him; and it was the wish of his heart that the last part of his literary labours should be introduced to the world under his Lordship's patronage.

The death of that Nobleman has deprived the following Volume of this Advantage. But the Executors of Dr. HENRY are persuaded that they could not better fulfil the intention of the Author, than by inscribing this Work to the MEMORY of the EARL OF MANSFIELD.

Dr. HENRY's friends have the satisfaction to believe, that a man whom his Lordship esteemed as an Author, cannot be soon forgotten; posterity will know that the History of Great Britain written by Dr. Henry was encouraged and protected by one of the wisest and greatest men of his time, whose old age was as venerable, as his active life was meritorious and distinguished.

LONDON, 22d April 1793.



C O N T E N T S

O F T H E

E L E V E N T H V O L U M E

B O O K V I.

C H A P. I. P A R T I.

The Civil and Military History of Britain, from
the Accession of Henry VII. A. D. 1485, to
the Death of Henry VIII. A. D. 1547.

Sect. 1. The Civil and Military History of England,
from the Accession of Henry VII. A. D. 1485,
to the Accession of Henry VIII. A. D. 1509. Page 1

Sect. 2. The Civil and Military History of England,
from the Accession of Henry VIII. A. D. 1509, to
the Accession of Edward VI. A. D. 1547. - 78

C H A P. I. P A R T. II.

The Civil and Military History of Scotland,
from the Accession of James IV. 1488, to
the Death of James V. A. D. 1542.

Sect. 1. From the Accession of James IV. A. D.
1488, to the Accession of James V. A. D. 1513. 373

Sect. 2. From the Accession of James V. A. D. 1513,
to his Death A. D. 1542. - 441

T H E



THE
HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I. PART I.

The Civil and Military History of Britain,
from the Accession of Henry VII.
A. D. 1485, to the Death of Henry VIII.
A. D. 1547.

SECTION I.

*The civil and military history of England, from the
accession of Henry VII. A. D. 1485, to the
accession of Henry VIII. A. D. 1509.*

THE victory gained at Bosworth, by Henry
earl of Richmond over Richard III. was
decisive, and produced the most important con-
sequences. The victorious chieftain was proclaimed
king by his army on the field of battle; a crown
Vol. XI. B of

A. D. 1485.
Accession
of Henry
VII.

A. D. 1485.



of ornament, which Richard had worn in the action, was placed upon his head, and from that moment he assumed the name, state, and authority of king of England.

Defects of
Henry's
title.

The title of Henry VII. (as he must now be called) to the crown which he thus assumed, was quite inexplicable. The hereditary right or title to that crown was evidently in the house of York, of which there were several princes and princesses then alive in England¹. Henry had even no title to the hereditary rights, or rather pretensions, of the house of Lancaster to the crown. He was descended, indeed, from one of the natural sons of John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, and the natural children of that prince had been legitimated: but in the very act of their legitimation, they and their posterity were declared to be incapable of inheriting the crown². To a parliamentary right he could not then pretend; for he stood attainted as a traitor by an act of parliament³. One victory of one English army over another English army, could not be called a conquest of England; and Henry's little army, though victorious, had certainly no right to change the established laws of succession, and to choose a king, contrary to those laws, for a great and powerful kingdom. But notwithstanding all these defects in his title, of which he could not be ignorant, Henry acted in all respects, from the day of his victory, as if it had been perfectly clear, and liable to no objections.

¹ Sandford's Genealogical History. ² Rym. Fœd. tom. vii. p. 349.

³ Statutes.

The first act of Henry's government was equally unjust and cruel. On the day after the battle of Bosworth, he sent sir Robert Willoughby to sheriff Hoton in Yorkshire, with a commission to seize Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, (the only son of George duke of Clarence, by the eldest daughter of the great earl of Warwick,) and conduct him to the Tower of London. This young prince, without being accused, or even suspected of any crime, was kept a prisoner, from his infancy to his death, by the jealousy of two successive tyrants*. So little were the feelings of humanity, and the most essential rules of justice, regarded, in those unhappy times.

A. D. 1485.

Earl of
Warwick
imprison-
ed.

Henry having refreshed his troops a few days at Leicester, conducted them towards the capital, and was every where received with the loudest acclamations; which were, in general, sincere expressions of joy at his accession. The Lancastrian party had long fixed their eyes upon him as their head, and the only person of his family who was capable of asserting its pretensions to the crown. The Yorkists, knowing his engagements to marry the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV. rejoiced in his success, hoping that their union would put an end to those civil wars which had raged so long with such destructive violence. The remaining partisans of the late king were quite dispirited, and consulted their safety by their silence and retirement.

Joy at
Henry's
accession.

* Hall, Hen. VII. f. 1. Bacon's Hist. Hen. VII. p. 6. Polydore Virgil, p. 565.

A. D. 1485.

Enters
London.

When the victorious prince and army approached London, the citizens went out in crowds to meet and welcome their new monarch. But on this occasion Henry discovered his reserved and haughty disposition, by entering the city in a close litter, and depriving the people of the satisfaction of seeing his person, which gave a check to their joy. He proceeded directly to St. Paul's, where he deposited the standards taken at Bosworth, and returned thanks to God for his victory ^s.

Promises
to marry
the lady
Elizabeth.

Though Henry was inflamed with the most violent hatred to the rival family of York, by which he had been long and cruelly persecuted, he was sensible he could not retain the possession of the crown without forming an alliance with that family. He made haste, therefore, in the presence of an assembly of the principal clergy and nobility, to renew his promise to marry the princess Elizabeth ^s. But he determined not to perform that promise, till he was firmly seated on the throne, and had his own right to the crown recognised by parliament; that he might not seem to derive his title from the princess, or depend upon her life for the duration of his authority.

Corona-
tion.

As the sweating sickness raged in London at this time, he was forced to defer his coronation till the 20th October, when it was performed with the usual pomp and ceremonies. On that occasion Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, the king's uncle, was created duke of Bedford; Thomas lord Stan-

^s Bacon, p. 7, 8.^s Id. *ibid*.

ley was made earl of Derby; and Edward Courteney, earl of Devonshire¹.

A. D. 1485.

Parliament.

When the parliament met at Westminster, November 7th, it was found, that many of the members of the house of commons were attainted for treason in the two last reigns, by acts of parliament yet unrepealed. This occasioned no little perplexity and hesitation; as these members were the most zealous partisans of the house of Lancaster; and the judges were required to give their opinion on this case, so new and singular. These sages of the law, after mature deliberation, gave it as their opinion and advice, "That the attainted members should not take their seats till their attainders were reversed." This prudent opinion was adopted, and the attainders of one hundred and seven gentlemen were reversed².

The parliament then proceeded to the great business for which it had been called, the settlement of the crown. The king expressed his claims to the crown in few words, by saying, he had a just title to it by hereditary right, and by victory over his enemies. But, that he might not alarm the parliament and people by the claim of conquest, he added, that he did not intend to deprive any person of his inheritance. The parliament, without considering these claims, which were ill-founded, but attending only to his present possession of the crown, which was undeniable, enacted, "That the inheritance of the crown of this

Settlement of the crown.

¹ Bacon, p. 9.² Records of Parliament, 1 Hen. VII.

A.D. 1485.

“ realm of England, and also of France, shall rest,
 “ remain, and abide in the most royal person of
 “ our now sovereign lord king Henry the Seventh,
 “ and in the heirs of his body lawfully coming,
 “ perpetually, with the grace of God, so to en-
 “ dure, and in none other⁹.” It is remarkable,
 that the princess Elizabeth, undoubted heiress of
 the house of York, and consequently of the crown
 of England, is not once mentioned in this act of
 settlement, and that the last words of it seem to
 have been inserted to cut off her claim. This was
 owing to the jealous and haughty spirit of Henry,
 and his hatred to the house of York, and must
 have been very offensive to the friends of that
 house.

Acts of
 parlia-
 ment.

The parliament then, by one act, secured in-
 demnity to those who had fought under the earl of
 Richmond at the battle of Bosworth; and by
 another, attainted the duke of Norfolk, and thirty
 other lords and gentlemen who had fought under
 king Richard at that battle¹⁰. The last of these
 acts was certainly unjust and cruel. It could not
 be high treason in these lords and gentlemen to
 fight under the banner of a prince to whom they
 and the whole kingdom had sworn fealty, against
 the earl of Richmond, who did not so much as
 pretend to be king, and who was at that time an
 attainted outlaw. Accordingly, we are told by a
 contemporary historian, that this act met with great
 opposition, and occasioned long and warm debates

⁹ Record of Parliament. Hall, Hen. VII. f. 3.

¹⁰ Statutes, 1 Hen. VII.

in parliament; and that historian, though he evidently writes under great restraint and terror, breaks out into this pathetic exclamation: "O God! what security can princes have, that their subjects will defend their persons in the day of battle; when being forced there, perhaps, by their absolute commands and threats, the side they fight for, as is often the case, being worsted, they find their own lives and fortunes involved in the common ruin!"

A.D. 1485.

Though the Yorkists were numerous in this parliament, and disliked this severity, which fell only on their friends and party, many of them concealed their thoughts, in hopes that the marriage of the king with the princess Elizabeth would extinguish his hatred to the friends of her family, and put an end to the calamities of their country. They had influence to procure an address from the parliament to the king, to hasten the conclusion of that marriage¹¹.

Address.

Henry, finding that he had pushed his resentment against those who had opposed him rather too far, thought it prudent to publish a free pardon to all his subjects, who signified their submission to his government, by taking the oath of fealty. On this, many who had espoused the cause of the late king, issued from their sanctuaries and hiding-places, and took the benefit of that pardon. At the same time he restored Edward Stafford, the eldest son of the late Henry duke of

Pardon.

¹¹ Continuat. Hist. Croiland, p. 581.

¹² Idem.

A. D. 1485. Buckingham, to the honours and princely fortune of his family ¹³.

A. D. 1486. Henry's marriage. Though Henry was not an impatient lover, he was a quick-sighted politician; and perceiving that the delay of his marriage was one of the chief sources of the doubts and fears of his subjects, he determined to remove that cause of their disgust. This long expected marriage was accordingly celebrated, January the 18th, A. D. 1486, with royal pomp. The rejoicings on this occasion, in London, Westminster, and other places, were excessive, far superior to those at the king's accession and coronation. Henry did not relish these rejoicings; on the contrary, they gave great disgust to his jealous and sullen spirit; as they convinced him, that the house of York was still the favourite of the people, and that his young and beautiful consort possessed a greater share of their affections than himself. This, it is said, deprived her of the affections of her husband, who treated her unkindly during her life ¹⁴.

External peace.

England was not at war with any other nation at the accession of Henry VII. ; and it was one of the first cares of that sagacious prince to secure the continuance of this external peace, so necessary to one in his circumstances. With this view he prolonged the truce with France, and spared no pains to prevent disputes with Scotland, and to unite the royal families by intermarriages ¹⁵.

¹³ Bacon, p. 14, 15.

¹⁴ Ibid. p. 16.

¹⁵ Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 283. See vol. v. of this work, p. 309, 310.

A.D. 1485.

Infurrec-
tion sub-
pressed.

Henry now enjoying peace abroad, and tranquillity at home, set out on a progress into the north, where he knew the people had been more generally attached to the late king and to the house of York, than in any other part of England. When he was celebrating the feast of Easter at Lincoln, he was informed that the lord Lovet, with Humphrey and Thomas Stafford, had left the sanctuary at Colchester, which did not seem to give him much concern, and he proceeded to York. There he received more certain and more alarming intelligence; that the lord Lovet was advancing towards York at the head of four thousand men, and that the two Staffords with an army were besieging Worcester. The king was not insensible of his danger, but without betraying any symptoms of fear, he prepared for his defence; and having collected about three thousand men, he gave the command of them to his uncle Jasper duke of Bedford, with directions to march boldly towards the enemy; and when he approached them, to proclaim a full and free pardon to all who would lay down their arms. Lord Lovet, dreading the effect of this proclamation, fled in the night; and his followers, seeing themselves without a leader, accepted of the offered pardon. The army before Worcester, hearing of the dispersion of their confederates, disbanded; and the two Staffords took sanctuary in the church of Cobham near Abington. But as that obscure church had not the privilege of protecting traitors from justice, they were taken from thence, and Humphrey, the eldest brother,

was

A. D. 1486.

Prince
Arthur
born.

Henry's
hatred to
the York-
ists, and
its effects.

was executed, and the other pardoned¹⁶. Thus ended an insurrection, which, under more able leaders, might have been very dangerous.

Soon after Henry returned to London from the north, he deigned to pay a visit to his queen at Winchester, who was there prematurely delivered of a son, September 20th. The young prince was named Arthur, in honour of the renowned British prince of that name, from whom the king pretended to derive his descent, by his grandfather Owen Tudor¹⁷.

Though the late insurrection had been so easily suppressed, the spirit of discontent and animosity against the king, that had excited it, still continued, and daily increased. This spirit was raised and inflamed by Henry's inveterate hatred to the house of York and all its partisans, of which he had given early, and continued to give daily, proofs. To this they imputed his procuring the parliamentary settlement of the crown upon himself and his heirs, without any mention of the princess Elizabeth; his delaying so long to marry that princess; his harsh treatment of her after marriage; his denying her the honour of being crowned, which had never been denied to any queen-consort; his frowning upon all the friends of the family of York, and refusing them every favour. This conduct was the more irritating to the Yorkists, that they had expected, and thought they had merited, a very different treatment, as they had

¹⁶ Hall, f. 4. Bacon, p. 17, 18.¹⁷ Hall, f. 5.

contributed so much to his elevation to the throne. In a word, the whole York party was ripe for rebellion, and wanted only a proper head to have renewed all the horrors of the civil wars. Such a head was so earnestly desired, that it was reported, and generally believed by those who wished it to be true, that Richard duke of York, the youngest son of Edward IV. was still alive, and would soon appear to assert his right to the crown; which gave occasion to the mysterious transaction I am now to relate, but which will never be perfectly understood.

A. D. 1486.

Richard Simon, a priest residing in Oxford, had a pupil under his care, named Lambert Simnel, the natural son of a baker. This youth was about fifteen years of age, acute, sensible, and sagacious; handsome in his person, graceful in his deportment, and every way qualified to personate Richard duke of York, whose appearance was earnestly desired and generally expected. To fit him for doing this, his preceptor gave him his best instructions. But whether this scheme was formed by the priest himself, or contrived by some person of higher rank and greater consequence, cannot be discovered, though the last seems to be most probable. While Simon was instructing his pupil how to personate the duke of York, a report was propagated, and generally believed, that Edward earl of Warwick had made his escape from the Tower of London, and would soon emerge into public view. This determined Simon, or those who conducted this plot, to change their plan, and to make Simnel personate the earl of Warwick.

A. D. 1487.
Lambert
Simnel.

No

A. D. 1487.

Removed
to Ireland.

No scheme could be more unfeasible than this, or more unlikely to succeed. The person and family of Simnel were known to thousands in and about Oxford. The person of the earl of Warwick was still better known; he was alive, in the possession of the king, and ready to be produced, to confound the impostor, and undeceive the people. Whoever were the managers of this scheme, they were sensible of this difficulty; and they resolved to begin their operations in Ireland, where neither the earl nor Simnel were personally known, and where the people of all ranks hated Henry, and were devoted to the house of York. With this view Simon and his pupil removed of themselves, or were conducted by others, into Ireland.

Proclaim-
ed king.

Henry had been so much engaged in England since his accession, that he had almost totally neglected Ireland, and suffered those who had been invested with power in that island by the two late kings of the house of York, to retain their places. Thomas Fitzgerald earl Kildare, a zealous Yorkist, was lord deputy, his brother lord chancellor, and almost all the bishops had been promoted by Edward or Richard. It is highly probable too, that the lord deputy, and perhaps some others, had been let into the secret of this design by the promoters of it in England, and instructed how to act. However that may be, Simon and his pupil met with a most favourable reception in Ireland. The citizens of Dublin expressed great joy on their arrival in that city, and Simnel was universally believed to be the real earl of Warwick. The
lord

lord deputy, (observing that the sentiments and dispositions of the people coincided with his own inclinations,) after conversing with Simnel, and asking him some questions about the manner of his escape, declared himself fully convinced that he was Edward Plantagenet, only son of George duke of Clarence. The example of the deputy was followed by many other persons of rank. Simnel was conducted with great pomp from his lodgings in the city to the castle of Dublin, where he was attended as a prince, and soon after proclaimed king of England and lord of Ireland, by the name of Edward VI. with all the usual solemnities.

Henry was greatly alarmed at the news of this sudden and surprising revolution in Ireland. His apprehensions were increased when he heard that John earl of Lincoln, a brave and active nobleman, son to Elizabeth duchess of Suffolk, eldest sister to the two late kings, had left the kingdom, and was gone to the court of his aunt, Margaret duchess dowager of Burgundy; his most inveterate and most formidable enemy. This convinced Henry that the plot now disclosed in Ireland had been formed in England, and would be supported by the earl of Lincoln, the duchess of Burgundy, and perhaps many others.

Henry
alarmed.

Henry, on this occasion, exerted his usual activity to prepare for his defence, and to discover the authors and favourers of this plot. With this view he held a council at Shene, with his most confidential friends. At the breaking up of this council an unexpected scene was opened. The

Queen
dowager
confined.

A. D. 1487.

queen-dowager was apprehended and conducted to the nunnery of Bermondsey, and all her estates and effects of every kind confiscated. The reason assigned for this severe treatment of so near a relation was, that she had left the sanctuary at Westminster, and put her daughters into the hands of the late king; a crime, if it was a crime, of a very old date, and supposed to have been long ago forgiven. But the real reason, as it was universally believed, was that Henry had discovered that she was concerned in the present plot to dethrone him: and when we consider the restless intriguing spirit of the queen, and her hatred for Henry, for excluding her from all power, and for his harsh treatment of her daughter and the friends of her family, this will not appear improbable. Her son, the marquis of Dorset, was committed to the Tower, to prevent the effects of his resentment, for the confinement of his mother¹⁸.

Earl of
Warwick
exhibited
in London.

The next step taken by Henry to defeat the designs of his enemies was less violent and more effectual. He caused the real earl of Warwick to be carried in procession through the principal streets of London, permitting all who pleased, to approach his person and enter into conversation with him; after which he was conducted to St. Paul's, where the nobility and persons of rank were introduced to him, and invited to ask him such questions as they thought proper, for their entire satisfaction. This contributed very much to keep the people of England quiet, and to prevent

¹⁸ Polydore Virgil, p. 571. Bacon, p. 25.

their

their promoting what they were convinced was an imposition. It had little or no effect upon the Irish, who boldly affirmed, that the person exhibited by Henry was an impostor, and that they were in possession of the true Plantagenet ¹⁹.

A. D. 1487.

When the earl of Lincoln arrived at Brussels, and applied to Margaret duchess of Burgundy, he found her as forward to promote any scheme for dethroning Henry as he could desire. She accordingly furnished him and the lord Lovel, (who had taken shelter in her court,) with two thousand German soldiers, commanded by Martin Swartz, a brave experienced officer; and with shipping to transport them to Ireland, where they landed March 19th, A. D. 1487. This reinforcement inspired the Irish with so much confidence, that they prepared for the coronation of their pretended king; and all things being provided, Lambert Simnel was crowned (with a crown taken from an image of the Virgin Mary) by the archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, assisted by other prelates and nobles, in the cathedral of Dublin ²⁰: a very extraordinary honour for the natural son of an obscure mechanic! But this was the age of surprising revolutions.

Simnel crowned.

The Irish, knowing that their own country could not long support a court and army, and hoping to enrich themselves with the spoils of England, determined to make that country the seat

¹⁹ Polydore Virgil, p. 571. Bacon, p. 25.

²⁰ Hall, f. 9. Polydore Virgil, p. 572. Bacon, p. 31, &c. Rym. Feod. tom. xii. p. 332.

A. D. 1487.

of the war. They embarked with their auxiliaries, and landed at the Pyle of Foudray in Lancashire, June 4th; where they were joined by Sir Thomas Broughton, a gentleman of considerable influence in those parts. Being now about 8000 strong, they advanced into Yorkshire, expecting great reinforcements in that country: but in this they were disappointed; the people, disliking the Irish, and convinced that the pretended Edward VI. was an impostor, remained quiet.

Battle of
Stoke.

In the mean time Henry had not been idle. He published a general pardon to all who had engaged in this rebellion, upon their submission; he guarded the ports with great care; sent spies into Ireland and Flanders; stationed couriers on the sea coast to bring him intelligence; visited the shrines of the most celebrated saints to implore their protection; and provided an army to encounter his enemies. As soon as Henry heard of their landing and the rout they had taken, he marched toward them with great diligence; and the two armies met on a plain at the village of Stoke near Newark, where a bloody battle was fought, June 16th, A. D. 1487. The leaders of the invaders expecting no mercy if they were taken, determined to conquer or die, and inspired their followers with the same resolution. The battle raged with uncommon fury no less than three hours, when the Irish, being destitute of defensive armour, and no longer able to resist the English archers, began to fly, and the king obtained a complete victory, at the expence of about 2000 of his

his best troops. Of the Irish and Germans about 4000, with the earl of Lincoln, lord Lovel, sir Thomas Broughton, Martin Swartz, and all their other leaders, fell in the action, or in the pursuit²¹. Lambert Simnel and his preceptor, Richard Simon, were taken, and met with more merciful treatment than they had reason to expect. The priest was imprisoned for life; Simnel was first employed in the lowest offices about the king's kitchen, and afterwards made one of his falconers²². It is in vain to guess at the motives to this lenity; they will never be known.

A. D. 1487.

Henry spent the remainder of the summer in the north, making the most diligent inquiries after all who had aided the late invaders, or who had expressed any wishes for their success. Few of the delinquents were put to death, but many of them were severely fined; and the king, on this occasion, discovered to the world that avarice was his ruling passion.

Delinquents punished.

Having reduced the country to order, he returned to the capital; finding it necessary to pay attention to the state of affairs on the continent: and that he might be enabled to do this with effect, he called a parliament, which met at Westminster, November 9th, A. D. 1487. Morton, archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor of England, informed the two houses of the reasons which had determined the king to call this parliament. "The causes," said he, "of your present assembling

Speech to parliament.

²¹ Hall, f. 10. Bacon, p. 35.²² Hall, *ibid*.

A. D. 1487.

“ are two: the one a foreign business; the other,
“ matter of government at home. 1. The French
“ king (as no doubt you have heard) maketh, at
“ this present, hot war on the duke of Britaine.
“ His army is now before Nants, and holdeth it
“ straitly besieged, being the principal city in
“ strength and wealth of that duchy. You may
“ guess at his hopes, by his attempting the hardest
“ part of the work first. The cause of this war
“ he knoweth best. He allegeth the entertaining
“ and succouring of the duke of Orleans, and
“ some other French lords, whom the king taketh
“ for his enemies. Others divine of other matters.
“ Both parties have, by their ambassadors, divers
“ times prayed the king’s aids; the French king’s
“ aids or neutrality; the Brittons’ aids simply; for
“ so their case requireth. The king, as a Christian
“ prince, and blessed son of holy church, hath
“ offered himself as mediator to treat a peace be-
“ tween them. The French king yieldeth to
“ treat, but will not stay the prosecution of the
“ war. The Brittons, that desire peace most,
“ hearken to it least, not upon confidence or stiff-
“ ness, but upon distrust of true meaning, seeing
“ the war goes on. So as the king, after as much
“ care and pains to effect a peace as ever he took
“ in any business, not being able to remove the
“ prosecution on the one side, nor the distrust on the
“ other, caused by that prosecution, hath let fall
“ the treaty; not repenting of it, but despairing
“ of it now, as not likely to succeed. Therefore,
“ by this narrative you now understand the state
“ of

“ of the question, whereupon the king prayeth
 “ your advice; which is no other, but whether he
 “ shall enter into an auxiliary and defensive war
 “ for the Brittons against France²³.” This speech
 produced the desired effect. The parliament
 granted the king a liberal supply, and advised him
 to enter into the war²⁴.

A. D. 1487.

Henry was not ignorant that many of his sub-
 jects, particularly the numerous friends of the
 house of York, were greatly offended, at his un-
 kind contemptuous treatment of his queen, in de-
 laying her coronation so long; and therefore, to
 avoid the effects of their resentment, he at length
 consented to it: and that ceremony was performed,
 November 25th, A. D. 1487. About the same
 time he restored the marquis of Dorset, the queen's
 uterine brother, to his liberty²⁵.

The queen
 crowned.

Though the supplies for the war in Brittany had
 been cheerfully granted by parliament, they were
 not so cheerfully paid. The people in the counties
 of York and Durham opposed the collectors; and
 the earl of Northumberland found it necessary to
 acquaint the king with their opposition, and desire
 directions how to proceed. Having received posi-
 tive commands from court, to cause the tax to be
 levied with the greatest strictness, he communi-
 cated these commands to a meeting of the gentle-
 men of the county of York, in a tone, it is said,
 rather too imperious. When the people were in-
 formed of this, they became furious and ungo-

A. D. 1488.
 Earl of
 Northum-
 berland
 killed.

²³ Bacon, p. 51, &c.

²⁴ Parliament. Hist. vol. xi. p. 419.

²⁵ Bacon, p. 38.

A. D. 1488.

vernable; broke into the earl's house, and put him and several of his servants to death. Hitherto this mob had been conducted by one of their own number, called John a Chambre; but sir John Egermond now placed himself at their head, and declared open war against Henry, as a tyrant and usurper. As soon as the king received intelligence of this insurrection, he dispatched a body of troops, commanded by Thomas Howard earl of Surry, to meet the insurgents, who dispersed them without much difficulty. Sir John Egermond escaped to Flanders, but John a Chambre and twelve of the ringleaders of this mob were hanged at York, and the tax was levied without any further opposition²⁶.

Truce with
France.

Henry was far more active in collecting the supplies granted by the late parliament, than in applying them to the purpose for which they were given. Resolved, if possible, to keep the money in his own coffers, he sent ambassadors to the king of France, March 17th, A. D. 1488, to negotiate, as he pretended, a peace between that king and the duke of Brittany, which he had told his parliament he knew to be in vain. The real business of these ambassadors was of a very different nature; and they actually concluded a truce between England and France, to continue to the 17th January, A. D. 1489, leaving the unhappy Brittons (who are not once mentioned in the treaty) a prey to their too powerful enemies²⁷. What could be

²⁶ Hall, f. 16.²⁷ Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 337. 344.

more base and dishonourable than this transaction; more unjust to his own subjects; or more cruel and ungrateful to the duke of Brittany, by whom he had been so long protected and supported in his exile²⁸?

A. D. 1488.

The duke was now in great distress, with a powerful enemy in the heart of his dominions; but he had still many brave captains and loyal subjects, who resolved to make one great effort to save their prince and country. A considerable army was raised, and marched toward the enemy. The two armies met July 28th, A. D. 1488, near St. Aubin, where a battle was fought, in which the Brittons were defeated with great slaughter. Edward lord Woodville, brother to the queen-dowager of England, (who had raised 400 men, and carried them into Brittany,) fell in this fatal action, with almost all his followers²⁹.

Battle of
St. Aubin.

By this defeat the affairs of the duke being almost quite desperate, he humbly supplicated the king of France for peace; which that prince granted, not from generosity or compassion, but from the fear of rousing the king of England, whose interest it was to support the duke, and whose subjects ardently desired a war with France. By this peace, concluded in August, it was stipulated, that Charles should retain all the towns and forts he had taken, and withdraw the rest of his army out of the country; which last article he eluded.

Peace
between
France and
Brittany.

²⁸ Bacon, the great historian of this reign, knew nothing of this infamous treaty.

²⁹ Hall, f. 15. Bacon, p. 62.

A.D. 1488.

Francis II. duke of Brittany died September the 9th, a few days after the conclusion of this peace; leaving the princess Anne, his daughter, in her thirteenth year, heiress of his dominions and distresses.

Henry's
policy.

It would be tedious to conduct the reader through all the intricate mazes of Henry's policy on this occasion. He certainly acted with much art and little honesty; but, unfortunately for him, his antagonists were more artful and no honefter than himself. The ends at which he aimed were these; to keep his money; to avoid war; and yet to preserve Brittany from being annexed to France. All this he hoped to accomplish by his superior cunning. As soon as he heard of the death of duke Francis, he affected to feel the most tender concern for his daughter in her distress; he was loud and vehement in his declarations, that he would defend her and her dominions with all his power; and he sent embassies with much parade into Flanders, Spain, Portugal, Denmark, and even Italy, to make the French believe he was forming a powerful confederacy against them for the defence of Brittany³⁰. But the French ministers were too well acquainted with Henry's real character, to be either deceived or intimidated by these appearances.

A. D. 1489.
A treaty.

That the Brittons might not quite despair of ever receiving any assistance from England, and that the French might be induced to believe that he was now at last in earnest, Henry concluded a

³⁰ Rym. Fœd. p. 348—389.

treaty with the duchess Anne at Redon, February 10th, A. D. 1489, in which he engaged to send her an army of six thousand archers, to remain in Brittany from the time of their landing to the 1st of November in the same year. But how cruel were the conditions on which this aid was granted? The most ample security was demanded and given, by delivering certain strong towns into the king's hands, for the repayment of every farthing expended in raising, transporting, paying, and maintaining these troops, till they were safely relanded in England, though he had actually received from his own subjects the supplies granted by parliament for the performance of this very service. But, which is still more extraordinary, in this treaty Henry reserved to himself the power of observing his truce with France, which rendered these expensive auxiliaries in a great measure useless. In a word, the most griping usurer could not have made a harder bargain with his most necessitous debtor, than this great king made with the distressed princess, to whom he pretended to be a father and protector²¹.

A. D. 1489.

The English auxiliaries landed in Brittany in March, where they remained in great tranquillity till November, when they all returned to England, except five hundred left to guard the cautionary towns. The French observed the truce with great strictness, to deprive the English of any pretence for breaking it, and the campaign passed without

English
auxiliaries
in Brittany.²¹ Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 364—369.

A. D. 1489.

any action³². In the mean time, the unfortunate Brittons were the only sufferers, and actually suffered more from the protecting, than from the invading army.

Marriage.

Duke Francis had begun to negotiate the marriage of his eldest daughter with Maximilian king of the Romans, from whom he expected assistance. These negotiations were now brought to a conclusion, and they were married in November this year by proxy, with this uncommon ceremony: the prince of Nassau, Maximilian's proxy, put his naked leg into the bed where the young duchess was laid; as a kind of consummation of the marriage. This transaction was kept a profound secret a considerable time.

A. D. 1490.
Treaty.

As the duchess Anne could not expect any present aid from Maximilian, whose affairs were much embroiled, she was obliged to have recourse again to the king of England; and gave a commission, 15th February 1490, to her chancellor, and several others, to negotiate with that prince for further aid. In that commission, she gave Henry many fair words, and constantly called him her lord and father³³. But all this, and every thing the commissioners could say, made no impression on Henry. Instead of obtaining assurances of further aids, (except in words,) he made them agree to a very disadvantageous treaty, containing additional securities for the repayment of the mo-

³² The historians, who knew not of the truce, say, there were some skirmishes, but these were probably only tilts or tournaments.

³³ Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 387.

ney expended on the late auxiliaries, and of his other expences in the affairs of Brittany; acting uniformly more like a covetous usurer than a great prince ³⁴.

A. D. 1490.

This year was almost wholly spent in negotiating various treaties with different princes and states, on commercial and other subjects. In the treaties with the king of the Romans and the king and queen of Spain, it was agreed, that the three contracting parties should declare war against king Charles, and invade France, for the recovery of their own rights and the rights of their allies, and particularly of Anne duchess of Brittany. As Henry's chief object in making these treaties was to intimidate the French, and to please his own subjects, who ardently desired to defend Brittany, he took care to make them as public as possible, by causing them to be proclaimed in all the towns in every county of England, and to be communicated to the court of France by his ambassadors ³⁵.

Henry threatens war.

Though the French ministers did not yet believe that Henry really intended war, they were desirous of discovering, if possible, what he did intend; and with this view they sent a splendid embassy to London. Henry gave a commission to his great confidant, bishop Fox, the earl of Ormond, and the prior of Canterbury, to treat with these ambassadors ³⁶. At their first meeting, Gauguien, prior of the order of the Holy Trinity, made a flaming harangue, in which he magnified,

A. D. 1491.

Speeches.

³⁴ Rym Fœd. tom. xii. p. 394.³⁵ Ibid. p. 410. 431.³⁶ Ibid.

A. D. 1491.

in very extravagant strains, his master's admiration of the wisdom, valour, and other virtues of the king of England; his warm affection and friendship for him; and his earnest desire to live at peace with him. As a proof of his entire confidence in his dearly beloved brother, he had desired them to communicate to him a very important secret: that he designed in a short time to lead an army in person into Italy, to assert his right to the kingdom of Naples, unjustly detained from him; and then to proceed to make war upon the Ottomans, for the recovery of the Holy Land. He had nothing at present to ask, but a mere trifle, hardly worth mentioning. All the world knew, that their master was superior lord of Brittany; and as such, had a right to be guardian to the heiress, and to dispose of her in marriage; and hoped that the king of England would give him no opposition in the exercise of that right. The English told the ambassadors, they would consult their master, and give them an answer in a few days. At their next meeting, bishop Fox made a short speech, and told the ambassadors, that if their master had so great an affection for the king as they pretended, it would be better to shew it by actions, than only by words. As to the marriage of the heiress of Brittany, the king would not meddle in it, if their master would marry by the book, and not by the sword. He commended the pious design of making war upon the Turks; and when their master engaged in that war, the king would petition for a share in the danger, expence,

pence, and glory of the expedition. If the French king is bound in honour, as you say, to assert his right to the kingdom of Naples, the king my master is bound by his honour to assert his right to Normandy, Guienne, Anjou, and even to the kingdom of France". This last stroke so irritated the ambassadors, that they replied with warmth, "The king our sovereign is able to defend his " sceptre with his sword;" then broke off the conference, and departed.

A. D. 1492.

In the beginning of this year the duchess of Brittany being involved in great distress and danger, sent the prince of Orange, the earl of Dunois, and her chancellor Montaubon, to communicate the secret of her marriage with Maximilian to Henry, and to implore his protection. But they implored in vain. Nothing could move his covetous unfeeling heart to risk any more money. On the contrary, he continually demanded, and obtained, from her ambassadors, additional securities for the money he had expended. It is impossible to peruse the treaties he made with the agents of this distressed princess in the course of this year, without feeling the most lively indignation at this selfish sordid prince, who could see unmoved the only child of his protector stripped of all her dominions, when it was so much his interest, and so much in his

Henry's
ungene-
rous beha-
viour to
the Brit-
tons.

37 Bacon, p. 82—93. I suspect these speeches were made by the noble historian who hath recorded them. This practice of inserting speeches that were never spoken, gives an author an opportunity of displaying his eloquence, but at the expence of his veracity; the most valuable virtue of an historian.

power,

A. D. 1491.

power, to save her; and when his subjects panted for liberty to fly to her relief³⁸.

**Rennes
besieged.**

When king Charles and his council considered the haughty answers given to their ambassadors, and were informed that no preparations were making for war in England, they were fully convinced that Henry's intention was to intimidate them with threats which he did not design to execute. They resolved, therefore, to push the war, and finish the conquest of Brittany as soon as possible. With this view they collected all their forces, and invested Rennes, the capital of the duchy, and residence of the dukes³⁹.

Embassies.

In this extremity that distressed princess sent two successive embassies to Henry, to importune him for immediate relief, to prevent her from falling into the hands of her enemies. But nothing could prevail upon him to risk any more of his money. He only renewed his threats of invading France, in conjunction with Maximilian king of the Romans, and Ferdinand king of Spain; and began to make some preparations for the execution of these threats⁴⁰.

**The
French
change
their plan.**

The siege of Rennes proved more tedious and difficult than was expected; and the French ministers began to fear the interference of the neighbouring powers, particularly of England, whose interest it was to prevent so great an accession to the monarchy of France. They therefore secretly

³⁸ Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 433. 437. 438. 439. 443. 456. 457. 458. 459.

³⁹ Ibid. p. 437. 444. 446. 455. 461.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

formed

formed a design of acquiring Brittany by a method more safe and easy than that of conquest. When this design was first formed cannot be discovered; because it was conducted, from the beginning to the end, with the most profound secrecy, on which its success depended. It is most probable that it was first thought of during the siege of Rennes. The mareschal de Rieux, one of the chief instruments in its execution, certainly knew nothing of it when he was in England, in the summer this year, soliciting supplies ⁴¹.

Charles VIII. king of France, had been contracted several years to Margaret only daughter of Maximilian king of the Romans, and had received extensive territories as her fortune. The young princess resided at Paris, and bore the title of queen of France. Anne duchess of Brittany was married, with all the solemnities the church required, to Maximilian, and had taken the title of queen of the Romans. The council of France proposed to dissolve both these marriages, (as they may be called,) and to unite their sovereign to the duchess in the ties of matrimony, and thereby get the peaceable possession of her dominions. They gained the prince of Orange, the duke of Orleans, the earl of Dunois, the mareschal de Rieux, the chancellor Montaubon, and others, who, by their united efforts and incessant importunities, at length prevailed upon the young princess to give her consent. Preliminaries were soon

King of
France and
duchess of
Brittany
married.

⁴¹ Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 444.

settled;

A. D. 1491.

settled; the French were admitted into Rennes, and the royal nuptials were solemnized with great pomp, 16th December, A. D. 1491.

A. D. 1492.
Henry pre-
pares for a
war with
France;

The news of this event threw Maximilian (who was most cruelly injured and affronted by it) into a furious age, which he vented in bitter reproaches and threats of vengeance, that he had not power to execute. Henry was exceedingly chagrined to see all his fine political schemes defeated, and his precious treasures which he had expended on Brittany, in danger of being lost. To prevent this greatest of misfortunes, (as he esteemed it,) he determined to make the most vigorous efforts. He had already made some preparations for war at the expence of his subjects, by exacting a benevolence, as it was very improperly called. This odious method of raising money was a direct violation of an act of parliament made in the reign of his immediate predecessor, on whom he had so liberally bestowed the name of tyrant⁴². This benevolence was levied by commissioners appointed in every county, furnished with very artful ensnaring instructions⁴³. Not contented with the great sums of money raised by the benevolence, he called a parliament, which in its first session granted him two-fifteenths. To this parliament, at the opening of its second session, January 26th, A. D. 1492, Henry made a speech, in which he declared his resolution to make immediate war on France, and never to desist till he had subdued that king-

⁴² Statutes, 11 Richard III.

⁴³ Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 446, 447, 448. 464.

dom. He put them in mind of the glorious victories of Cressy, Poitiers, and Agincourt; of a king of France a prisoner in London, and a king of England crowned in Paris. The war, he said, would be expensive at first, but he hoped soon to make it maintain itself⁴⁴. The parliament, transported with joy at the prospect of a war with France, gave a kind of sanction to the late illegal benevolence, by commanding the arrears of it to be levied, and made several acts relating to war⁴⁵.

A. D. 1492.

Henry having spent the greatest part of this year in preparing for his intended expedition against France, sailed from Sandwich, October 6th, attended by a splendid train of his nobility, and a gallant army of 25,000 foot, and 1600 men at arms, and landed at Calais the same day⁴⁶. This formidable invasion occasioned little or no alarm in France. The French ministers perfectly well knew that Henry had no intention to fight, or make conquests. It is even probable, that the conditions of the peace had been settled before the embarkation, by Giles lord D'Aubency, governor of Calais, and the marshal Des Quardes, governor of Picardy, who had been commissioned by the two kings, in the preceding harvest, to meet and treat of peace⁴⁷. However that may be, something was to be done, to save appearances, and prevent the secret of the peace from transpiring too soon. The English army marched from Ca-

invades France;

makes peace.

⁴⁴ Bacon, p. 96, 97, 98.

⁴⁵ Statutes, 7 Hen. VII.

⁴⁶ Bacon, p. 103.

⁴⁷ Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 481. 497.

A. D. 1492.

lais, October 15th, and invested Boulogne, but made little progress in the siege. At the same time Henry received letters from his two allies, Ferdinand and Maximilian, informing him of what he very well knew, that they were not prepared for invading France, which he made as public in the army as possible, to abate their fondness for the war, and reconcile them to the approaching peace⁴⁸. Fox, bishop of Bath and Wells, and the lord D'Aubigny, were commissioned, October 29th, to treat with the marshal Des Cardes and others at Estaples, where, in three days, the plenipotentiaries settled all the conditions of the treaty, or rather bargain. When this treaty (by which Charles agreed to pay to the English monarch 620,000 crowns in gold, equivalent to 124,000 pounds, for the money he had expended on Brittany, and 125,000 crowns, equivalent to 25,000 pounds, as arrears of the pension granted by Lewis XI. to Edward IV.) was presented to Henry, he affected to doubt whether he should ratify it or not, and referred it to a council of the great lords and chief officers of his army for their advice. The members of this council, gained, as it is said, by bribes and pensions from the king of France, advised their sovereign to ratify the treaty, and presented a long petition, containing their reasons for this advice, which were chiefly these: the lateness of the season; the difficulties of the siege; the failure of his allies; the greatness of

⁴⁸ Bacon, p. 110, 111.

the sum to be received; the advantages of peace to commerce, &c. In this petition they were not ashamed to affirm, that it was the most glorious peace that any king of England had ever made with a king of France; and declared, that if any of his subjects presumed to find fault with it, they would defend it, or take all the blame of it upon themselves⁴⁹. With this petition, dictated by himself, the king complied, and ratified the treaty, November 6th, A. D. 1492. By such a long train of crooked policy did this avaricious prince deceive and pillage his subjects, and disgrace his country, to amass treasures which he did not need, and had not the heart to use.

A. D. 1492.

The great lords and chieftains who petitioned for the peace had probably been refunded the expences they had been at in preparing for the war. But this was not the case with many other gentlemen, who had borrowed money, or sold their estates, to equip themselves and followers, in hopes of gaining both riches and honours by their conquests; and were therefore very ill-pleased with this unexpected peace, which blasted all their hopes. The people of England in general had been much displeased at the loss of Brittany, and their discontents were greatly increased by the sudden return of that expensive armament, for which they had been so severely taxed, without having performed any thing for the honour or advantage of their country. In a word, Henry was very unpopular at this period, when a pretender to his

A. D. 1493.
Henry
unpopular.⁴⁹ Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 490. 494. 541. 504.

A. D. 1493.

Difficulty
of disco-
vering the
truth.

crown appeared, who is well known in history by the name of Perkin Warbeck, but who called himself Richard duke of York, the youngest son of Edward IV. late king of England.

It would be easy to adopt any one of these two opinions on this subject: 1. That Warbeck was an impostor; or, 2. That he was the real duke of York, and even to support that opinion with plausible and specious arguments. But it is not so easy to establish the truth of either of these opinions so fully and clearly as to leave no ground of doubt in the mind of an attentive and critical inquirer. The relation given of this matter by the noble historian of this reign, and implicitly followed by many subsequent historians, is too laboured and artificial to be strictly true in all its parts; at least many things are positively affirmed in it, without any proof, which he could hardly know, and which are exceedingly improbable. 1st, It is affirmed, that Margaret duchess-dowager of Burgundy spent several years in searching for a young man to personate the duke of York, who she knew to be dead, in order to pull down Henry, who was married to her niece, by whom he had two young princes of great hopes. This is a degree of perverseness, wickedness, and malice, which is scarcely credible⁵⁰. 2dly, It is affirmed further, that she was so fortunate as to find a young

⁵⁰ It cannot be denied that Margaret countenanced Lambert Simnel, knowing him to be an impostor. But Lambert was entirely in the power of the earl of Lincoln, her nephew, whom, it is probable, she wished to see on the throne. She had not now any prince of the house of York to substitute in the room of Henry.

A. D. 1493.

man exactly of the age of the duke of York, who besides a striking resemblance in his person to Edward IV. was as admirably qualified to act the part designed, as if he had been created for that purpose.

“Such a mercurial,” to use the words of the noble historian, “as the like hath seldom been known; and had such a crafty and bewitching fashion, both to move pity and induce belief, as was like a kind of fascination or enchantment⁵¹.”

Besides, though he was the son of one John Osbeck, a converted Jew, and had spent his youth in wandering from place to place, he acted the prince with as much dignity and propriety as if he had been educated in a court. 3dly, It is affirmed, that Margaret brought this young man to her court, but so secretly, that no person saw him or heard of him, and that she privately instructed him in every thing relating to the persons and characters of Edward IV., his queen, the princes their sons, and the princesses their daughters, and all the little incidents that had happened in the court of England when the duke of York was a boy, though she had left England several years before that duke was born. But how this historian came to the knowledge of all this we are not informed. 4thly, It is said, that when Perkin was perfect in his lessons, and able to answer all questions that could be put to him, he was sent to Portugal, where he remained a whole year; during which the duchess took care to have a report propagated, that the duke of York was alive, and would soon

⁵¹ Bacon, p. 113, 114.

A. D. 1493.

make his appearance. Finally, we are informed, that when the war was ready to break out between France and England, Margaret, thinking this a proper season to produce her pupil on the scene, sent Perkin a message to sail into Ireland, where the house of York was much beloved, and there take upon him the name and character of Richard duke of York, which he did accordingly⁵². What truth may be in all this I shall not take upon me to determine; but I confess it seems to me more like a tale contrived to solve appearances, than genuine history supported by proper evidence.

Warbeck
in Ireland;

When Perkin Warbeck, calling himself Richard duke of York, (how truly I shall by and by inquire,) arrived at Cork, he was joined by the mayor of that city, and several others. But the resort to his standard was far from being general. The Irish still smarted from the wounds they had received in supporting Lambert Simnel; and were in general averse to venture so soon upon a second attempt of the same kind. Perkin wrote to the two potent earls of Desmond and Kildare, intreating their assistance. But these noblemen were not willing to engage in so dangerous an undertaking⁵³.

in France;

When Perkin's affairs were in this unprosperous state in Ireland, he received a message by two ambassadors from the king of France, inviting him to Paris, and promising him protection and assistance. Having communicated this joyful news to his followers in Ireland, he embarked with the ambassadors. At his arrival in Paris, he was received

⁵² Bacon, p. 112.—118.

⁵³ Id. p. 117, 118.

A. D. 1493.

by Charles with all the honours due to the duke of York; lodged, served, and attended as a great prince, and a guard assigned for his honour and protection. Here he was joined by sir George Nevil, and about a hundred other English gentlemen⁵⁴.

in Flan-
ders,

This gale of prosperity was not of long duration. As soon as Charles was certain of a peace, a hint was given him to leave France. He obeyed with great celerity, for fear of being delivered to the king of England, went to the court of the duchess of Burgundy, presented himself before her, as her unfortunate nephew Richard duke of York, and claimed her protection as her near relation. The duchess, it is said, acted her part with great dexterity on this occasion. She at first treated him roughly, calling him an impostor; said she had been once deceived, but would not be deceived a second time. To prove him to be an impostor, in presence of her whole court, she asked him many questions about king Edward, his queen and family, in which she had before instructed him, and appeared astonished at his answers. At length, as overcome by the force of evidence, she embraced him in a transport of joy, and cried out, "I have found my long lost nephew; he is indeed the duke of York⁵⁵." She afterwards gave him the name of the White Rose of England, appointed him a guard of thirty halberdiers, and treated

⁵⁴ Bacon, p. 119.

⁵⁵ Whether this great duchess was as good an actress as historians have represented her, may be doubted.

A. D. 1493.

A conspi-
racy.

him in all respects as the head of her family, and the undoubted heir of the crown of England⁵⁶.

The news of these transactions soon reached England, and gave no little joy to people of all ranks, who either hated the king, or were attached to the house of York. But knowing the severity of Henry's government, and that his spies were numerous, they were constrained to conceal their joy. Several gentlemen, however, of the York party held private consultations, and sent sir Robert Clifford to Brussels to investigate the truth. He was well received: and having had frequent conversations with Warbeck, he wrote to his friends in England, that he had been well acquainted with the person of the duke of York, and was so certain that this young man was that prince, that there remained no room for doubt⁵⁷.

Endea-
vours to
prove the
death of
the duke
of York.

In the mean time Henry was not idle; he saw a storm gathering around him, and prepared to meet it with calmness and intrepidity. His first care was, to endeavour to convince his subjects, that the duke of York had been put to death at the same time with his brother Edward V. There were only two persons then alive who had been concerned in that horrid scene, sir James Tirrel, lieutenant of the Tower, and John Dighton, one of the murderers. They were both committed to the Tower and examined, and their declarations published, which were to this purpose: that John Dighton and Miles Forest smothered the two

⁵⁶ Bacon.⁵⁷ Id. p. 122.

princes

A. D. 1493.

princes in their bed, and then called in their master sir James Tirrel, who saw their dead bodies laid forth naked; that they were first buried under the stairs, but afterwards removed by the priest of the Tower to another place, which could not now be discovered, because the priest was dead. When they had given this evidence of their own guilt, they were set at liberty, to the disgrace of public justice. The testimony of such miscreants met with little credit; and Henry never made use of it in any of his subsequent declarations⁵⁸.

Henry's next care was to discover, if possible, the family and history of the adventurer who personated the duke of York. With this view he sent several artful and trusty spies into the Low Countries, and from them, as it is said, he received information of the following particulars: that he was the son of one John Osbeck, a converted Jew of Tournay: that he was born in London: that Edward IV. had been his godfather, which is not very probable: that when he was a child, his parents had carried him with them to Tournay; that when he was a young boy he lived some time with a relation at Antwerp, after which he became such a wanderer, that he could be no farther traced: only, it is added, that in all his wanderings he conversed much with the English; but how this came to be known, when he could not be traced, it is difficult to conceive. It appears plainly to have been put in to account for his speaking the English language so perfectly⁵⁹. In a word, it is evident, that Henry,

Endea-
vours to
discover
Warbeck.

⁵⁸ Bacon, p. 123.⁵⁹ Id. p. 114, 115.

A. D. 1493.

with all his art and industry, could discover very little of the history of this young man, whoever he was.

Warbeck
betrayed.

Henry dispatched other agents of higher rank, on a more dishonourable business, in which they had better success. Several gentlemen went over to Brussels; insinuated themselves into Warbeck's confidence, by pretending to be his most zealous partisans, watched all his words and actions, and transmitted accounts of every thing to Henry; who pretended to be in a violent rage against them, declared them outlaws, and procured them to be excommunicated in the most public manner. He directed these agents to spare no expence to gain sir Robert Clifford, which they accomplished; and he being Warbeck's greatest confidant, became a most dangerous enemy to him and his friends⁶⁰. In consequence of informations received from him, John Ratcliffe, lord Fitzwalter, sir Simon Mountfort, sir Thomas Thwaites, William Dawbigney, Robert Ratcliffe, Thomas Cressner, and Thomas Astwood, were all seized in one day, tried, and condemned as guilty of high treason, for corresponding with, and promising aid to, Perkin Warbeck. Lord Fitzwalter, sir Simon Mountfort, Robert Ratcliffe, and William Dawbigney were soon after executed⁶¹. These discoveries and executions struck terror into all the partisans of Perkin in England. They saw they

⁶⁰ There is some reason to suspect that Clifford was an agent of Henry's from the beginning. He was of a Lancastrian family, the son of that lord Clifford who killed the young Earl of Rutland at Wakefield.

⁶¹ Bacon, p. 130, 131.

were

were betrayed; they knew not whom to trust, and could not form any confederacy.

A.D. 1493.

Another discovery and execution followed, which struck them with still greater consternation. Sir Robert Clifford returned to England, appeared before the king sitting in council in the Tower, January 7th, A. D. 1494, and accused sir William Stanley, the lord chamberlain, who was present, of high treason. Though Henry was in the secret, he affected to be exceedingly surprised, and to disbelieve the accusation; but sir Robert persisting in it, the lord chamberlain was committed to prison, tried, and found guilty. Our information of the particular facts with which he was charged, and of the evidence brought against him, is very imperfect. He is said to have confessed rather too much, with a view to soften the king's displeasure, and regain his favour. His accuser, sir Robert Clifford, swore, that he had declared to him, "if he were sure that " young man (meaning Warbeck) were king " Edward's son, he would never bear arms against " him." This, I imagine, was not treason in the eye of the law, but it was the blackest treason in king Henry's eyes, who hated the house of York, and all who favoured its title. But though sir William Stanley was condemned, it was not believed, either by himself or others, that the sentence would be executed. It is hardly possible for one man to be under greater obligations to another, than Henry was to sir William Stanley, and his brother lord Stanley, who was married to the king's mother. They saved his life, gained him the victory, and placed

A.D. 1494.
Sir Wil-
liam Stan-
ley behead-
ed.

A.D. 1494.

placed a crown upon his head, at Bosworth. But great obligations are apt to excite disgust, rather than gratitude, in haughty and selfish spirits. Beside this, there were two other considerations, which had a powerful influence on Henry's hard and covetous heart. He knew that the execution of sir William Stanley would convince all his subjects that they could expect no mercy, if they did any thing in favour of the pretender to his crown; and that the confiscation of his great estate would fill his coffers⁶². These considerations at last prevailed, and sir William Stanley, the greatest benefactor of an unrelenting master, was beheaded on Tower-hill, 16th February, A. D. 1495⁶³.

A. D. 1495.
Warbeck
makes an
attempt
upon Eng-
land.

Henry's vigilance and severity prevented any insurrection in favour of Warbeck; and the princes on the continent were so much engaged in prosecuting their own schemes, that they could give him no assistance. He knew, however, that he had many friends in England who hated the king, and wished for a revolution; and he determined to make a trial of their strength and resolution, by appearing among them. Having, with the assistance of his great patroness, the duchess of Burgundy, collected a considerable body of troops of different nations, and, in general, of desperate fortunes, he embarked with them, and approached the coast of Kent, near Sandwich, July 3d, A. D. 1495; when he commanded a party of his men to

⁶² Sir William Stanley had an estate of 3000l. a-year, (a great sum in those times,) 40,000 marks in money and plate, beside jewels, furniture, horses, cattle, sheep, &c. to a great value.

⁶³ Bacon, p. 133, 134. Hall, f. 36.

land,

land, to gain intelligence, and invite the country to declare for him. But it being observed that they were all foreigners, and of a suspicious appearance, the gentlemen and common people took arms, to protect their property from being plundered. They tried several stratagems to entice Warbeck to come on shore; but finding that he was on his guard, they fell upon his men who had landed, killed many, and took one hundred and fifty of them prisoners. By the king's command these were all hanged, to shew foreigners, as well as his own subjects, what they might expect if they engaged in such attempts⁶⁴. Warbeck, finding that none of his men returned, suspected what had happened, and sailed back to Flanders.

A. D. 1495.

Warbeck soon had reason to fear that he would not long enjoy protection in that country. The interruption of trade between England and the Netherlands, which the protection already afforded him had occasioned, was become very distressful to the Flemings; and the archduke Philip, their sovereign, at their earnest request, was negotiating a treaty of friendship and commerce with England. This treaty was concluded, 24th February, A. D. 1496; and by the fourth article, the contracting parties mutually agreed, not to admit the enemies of each other into their territories; and by the fifth article, each of the parties engaged to expel such enemies of the other as had already been admitted into his territories, within a month after it

A. D. 1496.
Treaty.⁶⁴ Bacon, p. 141, 142.

A. D. 1496.

was required⁶⁵. These articles were evidently designed to deprive Warbeck and his followers of that protection which they had hitherto enjoyed in Flanders.

Warbeck
in Ireland;

Warbeck was not ignorant of these transactions; and wisely resolving to depart before he was compelled, he sailed, with such followers as still adhered to him, into Ireland. But there he found that the people of all ranks, for various reasons, were more averse than ever to embark in his quarrel, which obliged him to seek for protection and assistance in another country⁶⁶.

in Scot-
land.

Henry, from the moment of his accession, had endeavoured by all means to preserve peace with Scotland. But these endeavours had not always been successful, especially after the accession of James IV., who, being a young and warlike prince, was apt to resent the incursions of the borderers, which occasioned frequent disputes. Though the emperor Maximilian, the archduke Philip his son, and Charles king of France, were all at peace with Henry, and bound by treaties not to protect his enemies in their dominions; they did not really wish him well, and would have rejoiced to see his fall. These princes, it is said, gave Warbeck letters of recommendation to the king of Scotland, which determined him to direct his course to that country. When he arrived at Edinburgh, he was admitted to a solemn public audience of the king, at which he behaved with equal art and dignity. Having approached the king, seated on his throne

⁶⁵ Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 550.

⁶⁶ Bacon, p. 148.

and

and surrounded by his nobles, he addressed him in an eloquent speech to this purpose: That he was the unfortunate Richard duke of York, the youngest son of king Edward IV.: that he had been saved from death by the murderers of his brother Edward V., delivered from the Tower, conducted to the continent, and there abandoned, for what reason God only knew: that he then resolved to conceal himself till the tyrant Richard III. died, when he proposed to appear and claim the crown; but that one Henry Tudor had come from France and usurped the throne: that after this he had led the life of a wretched wanderer several years; but that at length, being ashamed of a way of life so unbecoming his birth, he had discovered himself to his dearly beloved aunt, the duchess of Burgundy, and to Charles king of France, who had both acknowledged and assisted him; but that the providence of God had reserved the honour of raising him to the throne of his ancestors to the king of Scotland, in order to establish a perpetual amity between the two nations⁶⁷. To this speech king James, it is said, replied, "That whoever he was, he should never have reason to repent that he had put himself under his protection."

A truce between England and Scotland had been concluded at Edinburgh, 25th June, A. D. 1493, to continue to the last day of April, A. D.

King James convinced that Warbeck was the duke of York.

⁶⁷ Bacon, p. 148—153. There is good reason to suspect that this harangue, given us at full length by the noble historian, was his own composition. The language of it is evidently more modern than that of the fifteenth century.

A. D. 1466.

1501. By the fifth article of that truce it was stipulated, that neither of the two kings should admit the enemies of the other into his dominions, or give them any assistance⁶⁸. This article was evidently intended by king Henry to prevent Perkin Warbeck, his most dangerous enemy, from obtaining admission into, or assistance from, Scotland; and it could not but be so understood by king James. Besides this, Henry had always discovered a sincere desire to live at peace with James, to redress all his grievances, and even to enter into the most intimate connexion with him, by offering him his eldest daughter, the princess Margaret, in marriage, only a few days before Warbeck's arrival in Scotland⁶⁹. Nor could James be ignorant of the danger of provoking so wise, brave, and fortunate a prince, possessed of so much power and wealth, by wantonly attempting to pull him from his throne, without any provocation. It must therefore have been some very powerful motive which determined king James to disregard so many obligations and inducements to live at peace with his powerful and friendly neighbour, unless we suppose him to have been an absolute madman, who had no concern either for his honour or his interest. In a word, it is hardly possible to conceive any other motive that can account for the conduct of king James on this occasion, but a full conviction that Warbeck really was, what he pretended to be, the duke of York. Such a conviction may be supposed to have excited a very

⁶⁸ Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 535.⁶⁹ Ibid. p. 635, 636.

lively

lively compassion in the bosom of James, a brave and generous prince, and to have made him overlook every other consideration. It is a further proof that James was at this time convinced that Warbeck was not an impostor, that he consented to his marriage with lady Katherine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntley, one of the most noble, beautiful, and accomplished ladies in his dominions⁷⁰. It is also probable, that James was made to believe that the people of England in general entertained the same favourable opinion of Warbeck, and that they would receive him with open arms, as soon as they saw him supported by a powerful army.

A. D. 1496.

King James having determined to aid Warbeck, raised an army, with which he invaded England, in October, A. D. 1496, and published a manifesto, inviting all the subjects of that kingdom to repair to the standard of their rightful sovereign, Richard IV. by the grace of God king of England and of France, lord of Ireland, and prince of Wales. This manifesto, which is long and artfully drawn, narrated his deliverance from the Tower; the usurpation of his crown by one Henry, son to Edmund Tudor, son to Owen Tudor, a man of low birth: this Henry's cruel persecutions of him, and oppressions of his subjects: that he had now entered his kingdom, by the grace of God and the aid of his dearly beloved cousin the king of Scots, to assert his right, and confound the calumnies of the usurper, who was preparing to leave the land with

Warbeck's
manifesto.⁷⁰ Bacon, p. 133.

the

A. D. 1496.

the treasures he had amassed by his exactions. He then intreats and commands all his loving subjects to prevent the escape of his great enemy, and promises 1000*l.* in money, and 100 marks a-year in land, to any who shall kill or take him prisoner. He next promises to use his utmost efforts to repair the mischiefs that had been done to the kingdom by the usurper; "by his manifold treasons, "abominable murders, manslaughters, robberies, "extortions, the daily pilling of the people "by dismes, tasks, talliages, benevolences, and "other unlawful impositions and grievous ex- "actions." He threatened all who continued to adhere to his adversary with the severest punishments, and promised a free pardon to all who abandoned him, and returned to their duty. Finally, he invited and commanded all his subjects to attend his person in their most defensible array⁷¹.

This manifesto did not produce the desired effect. Few or none of the English joined the invading army; which was not only owing to their doubts concerning Warbeck, but also to their national animosity against the Scots; to their high opinion of Henry's policy and good fortune; and to their dread of his severity. When the Scots (who for some time behaved as friends rather than enemies) observed that none of the English joined them, they had recourse to the usual way of

⁷¹ See this manifesto, Appendix, No. I. This copy, transcribed from MSS. in the British Museum, is very different from that in Sir Francis Bacon's history of this reign, p. 154—160.

making

making war on the borders, by spoiling and plundering the country. On this occasion Warbeck, it is said; acted the part of a good humane prince with great propriety, by expostulating with king James on this cruel method of making war; and declaring he would rather lose a crown, than obtain it by the ruin of his subjects. James (who, it is probable, began now to suspect that he had been deceived) answered peevishly, that he gave himself too much concern about subjects who did not acknowledge him for their sovereign⁷². About the end of the year the Scots returned into their own country, to secure their booty.

A. D. 1496.

Though Henry could not but be irritated at this destructive unprovoked invasion, he had all his passions under such subjection to his avarice, that he proceeded calmly in his plan of adding to his treasures by every event. In order to this, he gave a shocking exaggerated description of the murders, rapes, burnings, and devastations committed by the Scots in their late invasion, to a parliament which met at Westminster, January 16th, A. D. 1497; and declared that he was determined, for his own honour, and the honour of the nation, to resent this insult in a signal manner. The parliament really felt the resentment which their sovereign feigned, and granted him 120,000*l*. for a war with Scotland under certain restrictions, to prevent its being applied to any other purpose. But Henry, without the least regard to these restric-

A. D. 1497.
Parliament.

⁷² Bacon, p. 160.

A. D. 1497.

Insur-
rection.

tions, immediately set about the collection of the money with his usual strictness⁷³.

Taxes are often more frankly imposed than they are paid. The people of Cornwall, living far from the seat of danger, discovered great reluctance to the payment of this tax, in which they were encouraged by two popular demagogues, Michael Joseph, a blacksmith, and Thomas Flammock, a country lawyer. Flammock, who was esteemed a kind of oracle, assured them that this was an unlawful tax, which they were not obliged to pay; because the barons in the north were bound by their tenures to defend the kingdom against the Scots. He advised them further, to take arms, to proceed to London in a peaceable and orderly manner, and to present a petition to the king, praying him to give up this unlawful tax, and to punish those evil counsellors who advised him to oppress his subjects by such heavy taxes. They followed this advice, assembled in great numbers, with belts, bows, pikes, and such weapons as they could procure, and marched under the conduct of their two leaders, Flammock and Joseph; their numbers daily increasing as they advanced through the counties of Devon and Somerset. When they arrived at Wells they amounted, it is said, to 16,000. There Thomas Touchet, lord Audley, a nobleman of a restless ambitious spirit, put himself at their head, and conducted them towards the capital. They obliged him, however, to deviate into Kent, in hopes that the

⁷³ Records of Parl. vol. vii. Parl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 441.

A. D. 1497.

people of that county would join them, which was prevented by the influence of the noblemen and gentlemen of the county. This disappointment made some of the insurgents desert, and discouraged those who remained. But as they met with no opposition, they still advanced, and encamped at Blackheath, within sight of London, about the middle of June ⁷⁴.

suppressed,

Though Henry had given these insurgents no opposition in their progress, he was not ignorant of any of their proceedings, nor unprepared for their reception. He had collected a great army at London, composed of all the fighting men in the neighbouring counties, and had recalled the lord Daubeney, with the troops designed for an expedition against Scotland. This army was so much superior to that of the insurgents, that he divided it into three bodies, directing the first, commanded by the earl of Oxford, to take a compass and attack them in the rear, and the second, commanded by lord Daubeney, to attack them in front, retaining the third about his own person, in St. George's Fields, to secure the city. Though the Cornish were brave and strong men, yet being undisciplined and ill armed, they could not long resist two such attacks. About 2000 of them were killed, and almost all the rest taken prisoners, June 22d, A. D. 1497. On this occasion Henry acted with uncommon lenity; contenting himself with the execution of lord Audley and the two incendiaries, Flammock and Michael Joseph; he gave up the other prisoners to the disposal of their

⁷⁴ Hall, f. 42. Hollingh. p. 81. Bacon, p. 163—166.

A. D. 1497.

captors, who set them at liberty for two or three shillings a man ⁷⁵.

Invasion.

While Henry was engaged with the Cornish insurgents, king James made a second irruption into the north of England, and besieged the castle of Norham, at the same time plundering the neighbourhood. But having received intelligence that the earl of Surrey was approaching with an army of 20,000 men, he raised the siege and retired into his own kingdom. The earl marched about four miles into Scotland, took and demolished the little castle of Ayton, and then returned to Berwick, and disbanded his army ⁷⁶.

Negotiation.

Henry earnestly desired a peace with Scotland, to deprive Warbeck of an asylum in that country, whence he might give him frequent alarms: but was unwilling to be the first proposer of peace, for fear of a repulse. He prevailed, therefore, on Peter D'Ayala, the Spanish ambassador at his court, to go into Scotland, (where he had a commission from his master to execute,) and endeavoured to discover king James's inclinations as to peace or war. D'Ayala, finding that James was not averse to peace, acquainted Henry, that if he would send proper persons into Scotland, with full powers to treat, a peace or truce would be concluded. Henry, in consequence of this information, gave the proposed commission, July 4th, to his great confidant Richard Fox bishop of Durham, and other two, who met with the plenipotentiaries of Scotland at Ayton, and entered on a negotiation ⁷⁷.

⁷⁵ Bacon, p. 163—172. Hall, f. 42, 43.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Rym. Ford. tom. xii. p. 677.

When

When king James resolved to make peace with England, he intimated to Warbeck, in the softest terms, that it was become necessary for him to leave Scotland, and take up his residence in some other country. Warbeck, it is said, behaved on this trying occasion with composure and dignity. He thanked the king for the protection and assistance he had afforded him, and the many favours he had conferred upon him, of which, he said, he should ever retain a grateful remembrance. He then embarked with his amiable consort, (who would not forsake him,) and about 120 followers, and landed at Cork, July 30th.

A.D. 1497.
 Warbeck
 leaves
 Scotland.

The departure of Warbeck smoothed the road to peace between the two British monarchs, and a truce was subscribed by the plenipotentiaries of both princes, in the church of Ayton, September 29th, A. D. 1491, to continue from that day for seven years⁷¹. Peter d'Ayala, who acted as mediator in this negotiation, acquired great honour by his activity and impartiality, and was highly praised by both the contracting parties. About three months after, this truce was prolonged, to continue during the lives of the two kings, and a year after the death of the longest liver⁷².

Truce.

Though Henry had happily repelled the attacks of his foreign enemies, quelled the insurrections of his subjects, and made peace with all the neighbouring princes, and might therefore expect to enjoy some tranquillity, he was soon involved in new troubles. When the prisoners who had been

A. D. 1498.

⁷¹ Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 628.

⁷² Ibid. p. 679.

A. D. 1498.



taken at Blackheath, and had obtained their liberty with so much ease, returned home, they revived the hopes and inflamed the discontents of their countrymen, by telling them, that the king did not dare to put them to death, or to keep them prisoners, because he knew that almost all his other subjects were discontented and ripe for rebellion. Upon hearing this, the people of Cornwall and Devonshire, where the odious tax was still collected with great severity, flew to arms, and resolved to make another attempt more directly against the king than the former. Having no person of eminence or ability to lead them, they turned their eyes towards Warbeck, and sent messengers, it is said, into Ireland, to invite him to come and put himself at their head. However that may be, Warbeck, either on information or invitation, sailed from Ireland, and landed at Whitsand-bay, September 7th, A. D. 1498, with his wife, and about a hundred men, who still followed his fortunes. Being joined by three thousand of the insurgents at Bodmin, he published a manifesto similar to that which he had formerly published, with the necessary alterations^{vo}.

Exeter
besieged.

Warbeck, by the advice of his confederates, besieged Exeter, the strongest and most opulent city in those parts. But the citizens, dreading to be plundered by his undisciplined followers, rejected all his fair promises, and resolved to make a brave defence. As he had no artillery, he attempted to take the place by burning the gates and scaling the

^{vo} Stowe, p. 480. Bacon, p. 179, 180.

walls;

walls; but being repulsed, with the loss of two hundred men, he raised the siege, and marched to Taunton in Somersetshire, September 20th ⁸¹.

A. D. 1498.

In the mean time Henry, who could not be at ease while a pretender to his throne was at liberty, made much greater preparations than were necessary to crush so feeble an insurrection, with a view to get Warbeck into his hands. He declared publicly, that now was the time for such of his subjects as wished to gain his favour, to exert themselves in his service. This engaged the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Devonshire, and several other barons, to raise their forces and take the field. The lord D'Aubeney, with a considerable body of troops, advanced towards the enemy, announcing the approach of the king with a much greater army. Though the insurgents were now become desperate, and declared to Warbeck that they were ready to shed the last drop of their blood in his defence, yet seeing himself on the point of being attacked by forces so far superior to his own, he fled in the night, and took sanctuary in the monastery of Bewley ⁸². The lord D'Aubeney, having heard of Warbeck's flight, sent five hundred horse in pursuit of him, who, arriving too late to prevent his admission into the sanctuary, surrounded it, to prevent his escape. When the insurgents found that they were abandoned by their leader, they submitted to the king's mercy, and were dismissed, except a few of the ringleaders, who were soon after hanged at Exeter ⁸³.

Warbeck
in sanctu-
ary.⁸¹ Bacon, p. 181. Hall, f. 46.⁸² Stowe, p. 480.⁸³ Hollinghead, p. 784. Bacon, p. 181.

A. D. 1498.

Lady Katherine Gordon.

The king being informed that the lady Katherine Gordon, spouse to Warbeck, was at St. Michael's-mount in Cornwall, sent a party of horse to bring her from thence. When she was brought into his presence, he was so much affected by her beauty, modesty, and distress, that he treated her with great tenderness, sent her to his queen, and settled upon her a decent allowance for her support. This unfortunate lady was long known in the court of England by the name of the White Rose; a name that had been given to her husband on account of his supposed birth, and continued to her on account of her innocence and beauty ²⁴.

Warbeck
in custody

Henry now deliberated with his council what was to be done with Warbeck. Some advised him to take him out of the sanctuary by force, and put him to death. But the violation of sanctuaries was a dangerous measure in those times, and would have embroiled the king with the pope and clergy. Others advised to tempt him to leave the sanctuary and surrender, by a promise of life. This promise was made and accepted. Warbeck came out of the sanctuary, was conducted to London, and carried through the principal streets of that city, November 28th, amidst the hisses, taunts, and insults of the mob, which he bore with dignity and composure. He was then committed to the custody of certain trusty keepers, with a strict charge not to suffer him to escape. Henry never admitted him into his presence, but gratified his curiosity by viewing him from a window ²⁵.

²⁴ Bacon, p. 124.

²⁵ Ibid. p. 126. Stowe, p. 430.

Warbeck,

Warbeck, impatient of restraint, escaped from his keepers, but finding that he was hotly pursued, and would soon be taken, he entered himself a sanctuary-man in the monastery of Shene in Surrey; and though the prior interceded with the king in his favour, he was taken from the sanctuary and brought back to Westminster. There he was prevailed upon to acknowledge that he was an impostor, and to give an account of his real family and adventures, which he read to the people from a scaffold near the gate of Westminster-hall on one day, and on the next day from a scaffold in Cheapside, after which he was committed to the Tower⁹⁶.

A. D. 1498.
in the
Tower.

Almost all the means which Henry employed to convince his subjects that Warbeck was an impostor had a contrary effect. Even this confession, which it might have been imagined, would have removed all their doubts, rather increased them. It was very different from the account published by the king from the information of his spies, at the beginning of these troubles; and therefore both could not be true. Henry had published, that Warbeck was born in London, and that Edward IV. was his godfather. Warbeck declared in his confession, that he was born at Tournay in Flanders, and that he had never been in any of the British isles till he arrived at Cork, in the service of a merchant. He added further, that when he appeared in that city, dressed in silk clothes belonging to his master, several people came to him,

Warbeck's
confession.

⁹⁶ Hall, f. 49.

A. D. 1491.

and affirmed that he was the earl of Warwick, who had formerly been at Dublin; which he denied, and made oath before the mayor, that he was not that earl: that they then affirmed he was the natural son of Richard III.; which he also denied with many oaths: but at length, by their importunity, and giving him assurance of the support of the earls of Desmond and Kildare, they prevailed upon him to personate Richard duke of York. These gentlemen, he said, put him to learn English, and instructed him how to speak and act in his new character. If this be true, it exculpates the dukes of Burgundy from being the contriver of this imposture, and the instructress of this impostor. In a word, the people were disappointed and dissatisfied with this confession, as it did not give them the satisfactory information they expected²⁷.

A. D. 1499.
Warbeck
executed.

When Warbeck had remained some months in the Tower, he formed a scheme for effecting an escape; gained four of his keepers, and communicated his design to his unhappy fellow-prisoner, Edward Plantagenet earl of Warwick, who agreed to accompany him in his flight. This plot being discovered, Warbeck was tried for attempting to escape out of prison, with a design to excite a new insurrection, found guilty, and hanged at Tyburn, 23d November, A. D. 1499; with John O'Water, late mayor of Cork, one of his most zealous accomplices. From the scaffold on which he was executed, Warbeck read his former confession to

²⁷ See Warbeck's Confession, Appendix, No. II.

the people, with a declaration that it was true³⁸. Thus died this extraordinary person, concerning whose real birth and character such different opinions have been entertained, so much has been said and written, and so much is still wanting to render that part of our history perfectly clear and satisfactory. My own private opinion, with the reasons on which it is founded, I have thrown into the Appendix, N° III., to prevent the interruption of the narrative by controversy.

A. D. 1498

The earl of Warwick was brought to his trial, November 21st; and being accused of a conspiracy against the king's person and government, he confessed the crime, (which he was incapable of committing,) and threw himself upon the king's mercy. But no mercy resided in the unrelenting heart of Henry. Being condemned by his peers, who must bear their share of the guilt and infamy of this barbarous murder, he was beheaded on Tower-hill, 28th November, A. D. 1499³⁹. Thus fell, by the hands of the executioner, the last of the male line of the Plantagenets, who had reigned in England 331 years, from the accession of Henry II. A. D. 1154, to the accession of Henry VII. A. D. 1485. It would be difficult to find in history a more ill-fated prince than Edward earl of Warwick: without any crime but his high birth, he was confined in prison from his childhood; denied all means of information, and all intercourse with man; and finished his wretched life by a violent death. Can any political considerations

Earl of
Warwick
executed.

³⁸ Hall, f. 51. Bacon, p. 194.

³⁹ Hall and Bacon, *ibid*.

justify

A. D. 1499.

justify such horrid cruelty, or screen the perpetrators of it from the execration of posterity? It brought much odium upon Henry at the time, of which he endeavoured to transfer a part to another artful tyrant, Ferdinand king of Spain, who refused to give his daughter in marriage to the prince of Wales while the earl of Warwick lived.

A. D. 1500.
Henry at
Calais.

In this and all the succeeding years of this reign, England was neither disturbed by foreign invasions nor internal insurrections; and Henry was chiefly employed in strengthening the bonds of peace between him and all the neighbouring princes; in amassing treasure, which he had always most at heart; and in disposing of his children in marriage. To avoid a dreadful pestilence which raged in England this year, he sailed with his queen and court to Calais, 8th May, and had an interview with Philip, archduke of Austria and sovereign of Burgundy and Flanders, near that place. At this interview these two princes treated one another with the highest marks of respect, the warmest expressions of friendship, and the strongest assurances of the faithful observance of the commercial treaty which had lately been concluded. The archduke flattered the king agreeably, by calling him his father and protector. In a word, Henry was so well pleased, that he sent a circumstantial account of what had passed at this interview, to the mayor and aldermen of London, which occasioned great rejoicing in the city. The pestilence being now abated, the king, queen, and court returned to England in June 9^o.

Henry lived in perfect harmony with Charles VIII. and his successor Lewis XII., kings of France, ever since the peace of Estaples. These princes being engaged in the wars of Italy, found it necessary to cultivate peace with England, and paid the annuity of 25,000 crowns, stipulated by that peace, with great punctuality. A. D. 1500.

To render the peace with Scotland more secure and permanent, which Henry very much desired, a scheme was formed for uniting the royal families, by a marriage between king James and the princess Margaret, Henry's eldest daughter. This proposal, as it was most decent, was made by James, and joyfully listened to by Henry. The terms of the contract of this marriage were soon and easily settled by the plenipotentiaries of the two kings. A dispensation from the pope was obtained in the month of July this year⁹¹. But as the royal bride was only in the eleventh year of her age, the marriage was not consummated till about three years after. A treaty of marriage between Arthur prince of Wales and the princess Catherine, third daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Spain, had been negotiated for several years, and was at last concluded, between the plenipotentiaries of the two kings, at Bewdley in the diocese of Hereford, 19th May, 1499; but the princess did not arrive in England till October 2d, 1501, and the marriage was celebrated with great pomp in St. Paul's, November 14th. These two marriages, in the course of time, were productive

⁹¹ Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 765.

A. D. 1500.



of the most important consequences. They were among the happiest events in the annals of this island, and of unspeakable advantage to both kingdoms⁹². The second of these marriages proved the remote occasion of the reformation of religion.

A. D. 1501.
Henry's
arts of
gaining
money.

Few princes have been better acquainted with the enriching arts of getting and keeping money than Henry VII. It would be endless, and indeed impossible, to enumerate all the arts of this kind which he put in practice; but it may be proper to mention a few of them. War, which empties the coffers of other princes, contributed greatly to fill those of Henry. He well knew that his subjects considered the French and the Scots as their natural enemies, and that to propose a war with either of these nations, would procure an ample supply from his parliament. Such wars were therefore once and again proposed; and when he had thereby obtained a supply, he immediately concluded a peace, and kept the money. The insurrections with which he was harassed in the first years of his reign, he contrived to render no less lucrative, by the forfeitures of the noblemen and gentlemen concerned in them; and by exacting as heavy fines and compositions from those of inferior rank who had favoured them, as they were able to bear. Many penal laws had been enacted in former ages, which, by the lapse of time and the change of circumstances, had become obsolete and forgotten. He employed in

⁹² Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 756. 780.

his

A. D. 1501.

his service certain expert lawyers, who searched into these laws, and who employed innumerable spies in all parts of the kingdom, to discover those who had transgressed them. These unhappy persons were apprehended and cast into prison, where they were long detained without being brought to trial; and, in the mean time, frequent alarms were given them of their danger, till they were brought to offer large compositions to obtain deliverance. Such of them as obstinately refused to compound for their delinquency were tried; not before the ordinary courts of justice, but before commissioners appointed by the king for that purpose, who tried and condemned them in a summary manner, without juries and without witnesses. Many gentlemen who had born offices were accused before these commissioners of certain misdemeanours, which it was pretended they had committed in the execution of their offices. The same arts were practised with those gentlemen to bring them to offer compositions; and if they refused, they were tried, condemned, and severely fined. For example, sir William Capel, who had been lord mayor of London, was fined 2,700*l.* and, after a long struggle, and remaining several years in prison, was forced to compound for 1,600*l.*; Thomas Knefworth, mayor of London, and his two sheriffs, suffered a long imprisonment, and at length obtained their deliverance by the payment of 1,400*l.*; Christopher Hawis, mercer and alderman of London, was so harassed by those inquisitors, that he died of a broken heart; sir Lawrence Alemore and his two

A. D. 1301.

sheriffs were fined 1000*l.* and committed to prison, but obtained their deliverance by the king's death⁹¹. The feudal system of government had been long upon the decline in England; and the several prestations drawn by those who held their lands of the crown had, in some preceding reigns, been levied with less strictness than formerly. But Henry compelled the tenants of the crown to pay the full amount of all these prestations. Beside this, many gentlemen who held their lands by other tenures, were brought before the king's commissioners, and compelled to submit to the payment of all the feudal prestations, to avoid greater inconveniences, with which they were threatened.

Outlaws on personal actions were compelled to pay exorbitant sums, before they could obtain their charters of pardon. Several laws were enacted which had a specious appearance of promoting the public good, but in reality were only intended to increase the revenues of the crown. In a word, hardly any justice, and no favour, could be obtained from these commissioners of the king, without paying for it a very extravagant price. These were a few of the arts by which this avaricious monarch harassed his subjects, and increased his treasures. Sir Richard Empson and Edmond Dudley, two bold unfeeling lawyers, with their spies and informers, were the chief instruments employed by Henry in these iniquitous transactions.

So unrelenting was the avarice of this prince, that his best and most zealous friends, who had

Earl of
Oxford's
composition.

⁹¹ Stowe, p. 485.

done

done him the most essential services, were not exempted from these exactions. John de Vere, earl of Oxford, had been a most zealous Lancastrian, and had done and suffered more for that cause than any other person. His great estate had been twice forfeited, and he had endured a long imprisonment in the castle of Hams, from which he had made his escape; joined Henry when he was earl of Richmond, in France; came over with him into England; and contributed greatly by his valour and military skill, to the victory at Bosworth. This nobleman entertained the king several days in a splendid and sumptuous manner at his castle of Henningham. At the departure of his royal guest, the earl's servants, friends, and retainers, in their livery-coats and cognifances, were ranged in two lines, between which he was to pass. The king observing their rich dresses and prodigious numbers, called to the earl and said, "My lord, I have heard much of your hospitality; but I see it is greater than the speech. These handsome gentlemen and yeomen, which I see on both sides of me, are sure your menial servants." The earl smiled, and said, "It may please your grace, that were not for mine ease: they are most of them my retainers, that are come to do me service at such a time as this, and chiefly to see your grace." The king started a little, and said, "By my faith, my lord, I thank you for your good cheer; but I may not endure to have my laws broken in my sight: my attorney must speak with you."

A.D. 1501.

The earl was accordingly prosecuted for transgressing the laws against retainers, and forced to compound for no less than 15,000 marks⁹⁴. Henry did not only grasp with eagerness at great forfeitures and compositions, but was attentive to the most trifling gains. Of this the noble historian of this reign gives us the following remarkable example: "I remember to have seen," says he, "a book of accounts of Empson's, that had the king's hand almost to every leaf by way of signing, and was in some places postilled in the margin with the king's hand likewise, where was this remembrance: *Item, Received from such a one five marks, for a pardon to be procured; and if the pardon do not pass, the money to be repaid, except the party be some otherways satisfied.*" "And over against this memorandum, in the king's own hand, OTHER-WAYS SATISFIED⁹⁵."

Arts of
saving money.

Henry excelled no less in the arts of saving than of obtaining money; the expences of his household were regulated by the most strict and correct œconomy. He constituted his second son, Henry duke of York, warden of the marches towards Scotland, and lord lieutenant of Ireland, when he was only two years of age. In the management of his greatest affairs, and in his embassies to foreign courts, he chiefly employed clergymen, and rewarded them with preferments in the church, instead of money, &c. &c. By these, and other arts of the same kind, this

⁹⁴ Bacon, p. 211.⁹⁵ Ibid, p. 212.

prince

prince collected a greater mass of money than ever was in the possession of any former king of England. This, it is said, at length amounted to 1,800,000*l.* in money, beside plate and jewels, all which he kept with the most anxious care in secret apartments of his palace at Richmond, under his own lock and key.

A. D. 1501.
}

Arthur prince of Wales, and the princess Catherine of Spain his consort, soon after their marriage, were conducted to the castle of Ludlow, the place appointed for their stated residence; there, in the spring of the year, the prince fell into a distemper, of which he died, April the 2d. This event, no doubt, affected Henry as a parent; but it seems to have afflicted him full as much from his apprehensions of the loss of money it was likely to occasion. The fortune of the princess was 200,000 crowns, of which Henry had received 100,000. Her dowry, as princess dowager of Wales, was to be one third part of the revenues of the principality of Wales, of the dukedom of Cornwall, and earldom of Chester. If the princess were sent back to Spain, that part of her fortune which had been received must have been returned; and it might also have weakened that strict union which had long subsisted between the courts of Spain and England. If she continued to reside in England, she must have enjoyed her dower. Neither of these alternatives could be agreeable to a prince of Henry's disposition.

A. D. 1502.
Death of
prince
Arthur.

To avoid these inconveniences, Henry formed the extraordinary scheme of a marriage between

Proposed
marriage.

A. D. 1506.



his only surviving son Henry duke of York, then in the eleventh year of his age, and the widow of his late brother prince Arthur; though she had cohabited with that prince five months, and from an apprehension that she might be with child, the king abstained several months from creating his son Henry, prince of Wales. This extraordinary project being communicated to Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Spain, met with their approbation, and steps were soon after taken to carry it into execution.

Earl of
Suffolk.

Henry's hatred and jealousy of the house of York still continued unabated. John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, died A. D. 1491; leaving Edmond de la Pole his son and heir. But Henry disputed the succession to the estate and honours of his family, and forced him to a compromise, by which he was permitted to enjoy the title of the earl of Suffolk, and the estate of that earldom⁹⁰. This nobleman had the misfortune to kill a man in a sudden gust of passion, for which he was arraigned and tried in the court of King's Bench, and then obtained a pardon. Disgusted at these injuries and affronts, he went out of the kingdom without leave, to the court of Margaret duchess dowager of Burgundy, his aunt. Henry, by sending him solemn promises of forgiveness and good usage, prevailed upon him to return to England, A. D. 1501. But the earl having contracted a heavy load of debt, by his extravagant expences at the marriage of prince Arthur, he became uneasy, and

⁹⁰ Rotuli Parliamentorum, tom. vi. p. 474, &c.

fled into Flanders in the spring of this year. Henry now became apprehensive that he had accomplices in England, and that an insurrection was intended; he therefore directed sir Robert Curson, governor of the castle of Hams, to join the earl of Suffolk at Brussels, insinuate himself into his favour, and discover his designs and accomplices. In consequence of informations sent by this emissary, the lord William Courteney, brother to the earl of Devonshire, sir James Tyrrel, sir John Windham, and some other gentlemen, were apprehended, tried, and found guilty of treason. Sir James Tyrrel and sir William Wyndham were beheaded on Tower-hill, May 6th, 1502. The unhappy earl of Suffolk, on the death of his aunt Margaret, was reduced to great distress, and wandered about in France and Germany, but was at length permitted by the archduke of Austria to reside privately in Flanders⁹⁷.

A. D. 1502.

Henry sustained another loss in his family by the death of his amiable consort, queen Elizabeth, on Saturday, February 11th, A. D. 1503. She had been delivered of a daughter upon Candlemas-day preceding, and her child survived her only a few days. As this princess had never gained the affection of her husband, it is probable that her death did not give him much concern; and he soon after began to think of a second marriage⁹⁸.

A. D. 1503.
Death of
the queen.

Henry and the king and queen of Spain having given full powers to their plenipotentiaries to ne-

Marriage.

⁹⁷ Bacon, p. 203. Hall, f. 54. Stowe, p. 424.⁹⁸ Stowe, p. 424.

A.D. 1503.

gotiate the contract of a marriage between prince Henry, lately created prince of Wales, and Catherine princess dowager of Wales, his late brother's widow, that contract was signed June 23d, A. D. 1503; but as the prince was then hardly twelve years of age, the consummation of the marriage was several years delayed, and did not actually take place till after the death of the king his father; though a papal dispensation for it was granted December 26th, A. D. 1503⁹⁹.

A.D. 1504.
Parliament.

One of the prestations due by those who held their lands of the crown *in capite*, by the feudal system of government, was an aid to the king for knighting his eldest son, and marrying his eldest daughter. Henry had knighted his eldest son, prince Arthur, before his marriage; and had lately married his eldest daughter, the princess Margaret, to the king of Scotland; and would not suffer such an opportunity of getting money to escape. He therefore called a parliament, which met at Westminster on the 25th of January, of which Edmond Dudley, the most hated man in the kingdom, was chosen speaker: so absolute was Henry now become. The parliament, to avoid the trouble and perplexity of levying these obsolete aids, according to the ancient custom, made him a grant of 40,000*l.* of which he was graciously pleased to remit 10,000*l.*, and was still a considerable gainer. At this parliament too, several noblemen and gentlemen were attainted, and their estates forfeited; some of them for offences of a very old date. Among these were, Edmond earl of Suffolk, the

⁹⁹ Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 75, &c. Bacon, p. 216.

lord William Courteney, sir James Tyrrel, sir George Nevil, sir Thomas Wyndham, &c. Not contented with these grants and forfeitures, Henry appointed commissioners for a general benevolence, though he was engaged in no war, nor involved in any troubles which could occasion an extraordinary expence ¹⁰⁰.

A. D. 1504.

Henry, after some time spent in deliberation, fixed upon the queen dowager of Naples, who had a very large dower assigned her by her late husband, king Ferdinand, for his second wife: but he resolved to proceed with caution. He sent three gentlemen to Naples, not invested with any public character, but furnished with letters from the princess of Wales, which procured them access to the intended bride. He gave these gentlemen very particular directions to observe attentively the complexion, stature, health, temper, inclinations, and behaviour of the queen, and to examine into the state and value of her dower. These gentlemen made a very favourable report of the person and character of the queen; but informed him, that the reigning king of Naples had deprived her of her dower, and had granted her a moderate pension for life. This extinguished Henry's love in a moment, and put an end to that project ¹⁰¹.

A. D. 1505:
Marriage.

Philip archduke of Austria had married the princess Jane, eldest surviving daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Spain. That princess, by the death of her mother Isabella,

A. D. 1506.
King of
Castile in
England.

¹⁰⁰ Rotuli Parliamentorum, tom. vi. p. 532, &c.

¹⁰¹ Bacon, p. 212, &c.

A. D. 1506.

heirefs of Castile, was become the heirefs of that kingdom; her father Ferdinand of Arragon had been appointed administrator of Castile, by the last will of his deceased consort: but the archduke, intending to hold the possession of the crown of Castile with his father-in-law, embarked, with his consort and court, on the 10th of January, for Spain; but his fleet was dispersed by a violent storm, and his own ship with much difficulty got into the port of Weymouth, January 26th. Philip and queen Jane being extremely sick, went on shore, contrary to the advice of his council.

As soon as Henry was informed of this event, he sent the earl of Arundel, with a splendid retinue, to compliment Philip and the queen, and assure them that his sovereign was on the way to wait upon them. Philip, finding that it would be impossible for him to avoid the king's visit, immediately set out for Windsor, where he was received by Henry with every possible demonstration of respect and friendship¹⁰².

Treaty.

Henry, having the archduke and his consort, the queen of Castile, now in his possession, began to ruminate upon what advantage might be derived from this accident. Among other things, he prevailed upon Philip, who could deny him nothing, to make a new commercial treaty, much more advantageous to the English than the former, which had been called by the people of the Low Countries *intercurfus magnus*, or the great treaty; this was called by them *intercurfus malus*, or the bad treaty¹⁰³.

¹⁰² Bacon, p. 223.¹⁰³ Rym. Feed. tom. xiii. p. 126.

Henry

Henry then intimated to Philip his desire to marry his sister Margaret duchess dowager of Savoy. To this Philip cheerfully consented. Thomas Wolsley, then chaplain to the king, who afterwards made so distinguished a figure, was employed to negotiate this treaty, which was concluded at Windsor, March 20th. By this treaty, Philip engaged to give with the duchess, his sister, 300,000 crowns of gold, and an yearly pension of 3,850 crowns. By the treaty it was agreed, for the further security of the money, that the principal lords of the Low Countries should become bound by oath for the payment ¹⁰⁴.

A. D. 1506.
Treaty of marriage.

Henry, not yet contented with these advantages, pressed Philip to deliver Edmond de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, into his hands; and Philip expressing great reluctance to betray a nobleman who had trusted in his protection, Henry gave him assurances that he would not put the earl to death, and contrived to make his return to England appear voluntary. He was accordingly brought to Dover, delivered to Henry, and committed to the Tower; he having given his consent to return, upon being assured of his life. Henry, after investing Philip with the order of the garter, and entertaining him magnificently about three months, having obtained all the advantages he could expect, suffered him to pursue his voyage into Spain ¹⁰⁵.

Earl of Suffolk.

When Philip was in England, some proposals were made of a marriage between his son, Charles prince of Castile, and the princess Mary, Henry's youngest daughter; and ambassadors were appointed

A. D. 1507.
Treaty of marriage.

¹⁰⁴ Rym. Ford. tom. xiii. p. 126—132.

¹⁰⁵ Bacon, p. 223.

A. D. 1507.

to negotiate that treaty, which was at length concluded and signed at Calais, December 21st, A. D. 1507. By this treaty it was stipulated, that Charles should marry the princess as soon as he was fourteen years of age, and her fortune was fixed at 250,000 crowns of gold. Such advantageous bargains did Henry make, that, though an old man, he was to receive a much greater fortune with the duchess of Savoy than he was to give with his daughter Mary, to Charles, the youthful heir of all the extensive dominions of Austria and Spain ¹⁰⁶.

A. D. 1508.
Henry pre-
pares for
death.

Henry had for some years past been much afflicted with the gout, and about this time fell into a declining state of health, which gradually impaired his strength, and threatened his dissolution. This put an end to all his thoughts of marriage, and engaged him to make preparations for his approaching death, by acts of mercy, justice, and piety. Besides granting a general pardon, excepting to thieves and murderers, and a few particular persons, he paid the debts of all the prisoners in London and Westminster who were confined for forty shillings, or under, and set them at liberty ¹⁰⁷.

A. D. 1509.
Last will.

Henry, perceiving the approaches of death, made his last will and testament, at his palace of Richmond, on the last day of March, A. D. 1509. Some of our historians had so good an opinion of this prince, that they assure us his soul ascended to heaven as soon as it left his body ¹⁰⁸. But he does not seem to have entertained such sanguine hopes

¹⁰⁶ Rym. Foed. tom. xiii. p. 271.

¹⁰⁷ Hall, f. 51.

¹⁰⁸ Id. ibid. Bacon, p. 231.

himself,

himself, but rather to have been very apprehensive of the pains of purgatory, if not of something worse. This appears from the whole strain of his last will, which is, in many respects, a curious composition, and exhibits a lively picture of his mind at that awful season. Disquieted by a sense of guilt and a dread of punishment, he fled to the arts of superstition for relief. But, accustomed to make good bargains, he took every possible precaution to secure a sufficient number of masses and prayers of the best quality for his money. He directed his executors to cause two thousand masses to be said for his soul within a month after his decease, at the rate of six-pence a piece. He ordered them also to distribute 2000*l.* to prisoners and poor people of different denominations, upon condition that they prayed fervently for his soul by name. "And in this partie," said he, "we hertily desire our executours to thinke and consider howe necessarie behooful and howe profitable it is to dede folks to bee praied for." He had some time before entered into formal contracts with the clergy of all the cathedrals, conventual and collegiate churches, in the kingdom, to say a certain number of masses and prayers for certain sums of money; and he now granted them, by his will, additional sums, to engage them to say their masses with greater solemnity, and their prayers with greater fervency. To relieve his mind from the anxiety under which it laboured on account of his oppressive exactions, he constituted a number of commissioners, with authority to make
restitution

A. D. 1509.

restitution to all whom he had injured and oppressed. But still, to prevent imposition, he directed them to make no restitution to any for what had been taken from them by course of law, which was the most common method of his oppressive exactions; and he appointed Empson and Dudley, the two chief instruments of his oppression, two of these commissioners. But it would be tedious to enumerate all the other arts he employed to preserve his soul from those punishments which he dreaded ¹⁰⁹.

Death.

Having languished about three weeks after he made his will, he expired in his palace at Richmond, April 21st, A. D. 1509, in the 24th year of his reign, and 54th of his age.

Character.

Henry VII. was in stature a little above the middle size, slender, strong, and active. His deportment was, in general, grave, reserved, and stately; but he could put on a smiling countenance, and assume a gracious engaging manner, when he saw convenient. In personal courage he was not defective, but it was attended with caution, and not of the impetuous enterprising kind. Though he sometimes threatened, he never really intended to engage in any foreign war; because he knew it was exceedingly expensive, and peculiarly dangerous to a prince with a disputed title and discontented subjects. From these considerations, rather than from timidity, he cultivated peace with all the neighbouring princes. In application to business

¹⁰⁹ See the Will of Henry VII. published by Thomas Astle, esq, with an ingenious preface by the Editor.

he was indefatigable, and descended to the most minute details. He was his own minister, impenetrably secret in all his schemes, and prescribed to his servants the parts they were to act, without acquainting them with his views. His understanding was good, but neither very quick nor comprehensive: but he supplied the want of quickness by mature deliberation; and the success with which all his measures were crowned, procured him the name of the Solomon of the age, and a very high reputation for wisdom both at home and abroad. He has been highly admired for diminishing the exorbitant power of the great barons, which had often endangered the crown and oppressed the people. This he certainly endeavoured, and in part accomplished. But it was far from being a difficult task. The civil wars had ruined two-thirds of the great families, and at his accession there were only twenty-seven temporal peers in England. The great defects in the character of this prince proceeded not from the weakness of his head, but the hardness of his heart, which was exceedingly selfish and unfeeling; little susceptible of the impressions of love, friendship, pity, or any generous, benevolent affection. He was an unkind husband to an amiable consort; never had a friend, and seldom forgave an enemy. As a son, he treated his venerable mother with formal respect, but allowed her no influence; as a father, he was careful, but not affectionate; as a master, he was far from being generous. His vexatious exactions of various kinds, his severity to sir William Stanley, and his cruelty

A. D. 1509.

cruelty to the innocent earl of Warwick, have procured him, and not unjustly, the odious name of tyrant. An inordinate love of money, and an unrelenting hatred to the house of York, were his ruling passions, and the chief sources of all his vices and of all his troubles.

SECTION II.

The Civil and Military History of England, from the Accession of Henry VIII. A. D. 1509, to the Accession of Edward VI. A. D. 1547.

Accession
of Henry
VIII.

FEW kings have ascended their thrones with greater advantages, and fairer prospects of a happy reign, than Henry VIII. of England. He was in his eighteenth year, handsome, healthy, strong, and active; excelled in all fashionable and manly exercises, had a taste for the fine arts, and was learned for his time of life and the age in which he flourished. His title to the crown was indisputable; he was at peace with all his neighbours: his coffers overflowed with money, and his subjects were transported with joy at his accession¹¹⁰.

Wise mea-
sures.

The first measures of the young monarch were wise and popular. On the day after his father's death, when he was proclaimed in London, he retired to the Tower, to avoid the tumultuary acclamations of the people, and to enjoy leisure to

¹¹⁰ Lord Herbert's History of Henry VIII. apud Kenet, vol. iii. p. 1.

attend to business. By the advice, it is said, of his wife and virtuous grandmother, Margaret countess of Richmond and Derby, he formed an excellent council, composed of men of eminent abilities and long experience in business; and though, from his age and temper, he was fond of pleasurable amusements, he frequently attended the meetings of his council, to gain some knowledge of his affairs. Two very popular proclamations were immediately published, the one confirming the general pardon that had been granted by the late king; the other inviting all who had been injured by the too rigorous execution of antiquated penal laws in the late reign, to lay their complaints before certain commissioners appointed to hear and redress their wrongs. Sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, esq. the two detested instruments of those vexatious prosecutions, were committed prisoners to the Tower, and many of their agents and informers to other prisons. These measures gave universal satisfaction, and inspired the people with the most sanguine hopes of a mild administration¹¹¹.

A. D. 1509.

One of the first and most important affairs that engaged the attention of the council was, the marriage of the young king. He had been contracted, 23d June, A. D. 1503, to Catherine of Spain, his brother's widow, and a dispensation for the marriage had been obtained from the pope; but on the day in which he completed his fourteenth

The
king's
marriage.

¹¹¹ Lord Herbert's History of Henry VIII. apud Kenet, vol. iii. p. 2, 3.

year,

A. D. 1509

year, he had protested against that contract: and it was now debated in council, whether he should adhere to his protest, or fulfil the contract¹¹². William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor of England, a wise and virtuous prelate, opposed the marriage as incestuous, and contrary to the laws of God, with which the pope, he said, could not dispense. But Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester, secretary and lord privy seal, with a great majority of the council, advised the king to proceed to the marriage, and enforced their advice by many strong political and prudential arguments. Henry, with some reluctance, it is said, complied with this advice; and this extraordinary marriage was solemnized at Greenwich, June 7th, A. D. 1509¹¹³. A marriage which afterwards made a mighty noise, and produced effects altogether unexpected, and directly contrary to the intentions of those who promoted it with the greatest zeal. So short-sighted are the wisest politicians, and so little do they know what will be the consequences of their schemes! The pope, in particular, who granted the dispensation for this marriage, imagined he had thereby subjected Henry and his posterity for ever to himself and his successors; because the legality of his marriage and their legitimacy would depend on the plenitude of the papal power. The effect, it will soon appear, was directly contrary to his expectations, and proved that, with all his pretensions to infallibility, he saw no further into futurity than other men.

¹¹² Rym. Ford. tom. xiii. p. 76—86, 89.¹¹³ Ibid. p. 251.

The commissioners who had been appointed to hear the complaints of those who had been injured in the late reign, soon found that it would not be so easy to repair the losses of the numerous complainers, as to gratify their revenge by punishing their oppressors. They therefore adopted that as the least expensive method, and made three of the most active and odious informers to ride through the principal streets of London, June 6th, with their faces to the horses tails, and then set them on the pillory, where they were so roughly used, that they all died soon after in prison ¹¹⁴.

A. D. 1509.
Informers
punished.

Great preparations having been made for the coronation of the king and queen, that ceremony was performed at Westminster, June 24th, with extraordinary pomp, and at a prodigious expence both to the king and the nobility ¹¹⁵. The coronation was followed by a succession of tournaments and other splendid and expensive diversions, in which the young king spent much of his time and treasures. Not contented with the guard established by his father, he instituted a band of fifty spearmen, each spearman to have three great horses for his own use, and to be attended by an archer, a demilance, and valet, all on horseback. The spearmen were dressed in cloth of gold, and the trappings of their horses were of the same costly materials ¹¹⁶. In a word, Henry now discovered so strong a passion for magnificence of all kinds, as threatened the speedy dissipation of all the mo-

Corona-
tion, &c.

¹¹⁴ Stowe, p. 427.

¹¹⁵ Hall, Henry VIII. fol. 2—4.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. fol. 5, 6.

A. D. 1509.

ney which had been hoarded by his father. This gave no little concern to some of his ministers, particularly to bishop Fox, who lost much of his influence at court, by his remonstrance against this extravagance; and his rival, the earl of Surrey, lord treasurer, gained the ascendant by indulging the king's humour¹¹⁷.

Death of
the coun-
tess of
Richmond.

Five days after his coronation, Henry sustained a great loss by the death of his excellent grandmother, for whom he had always entertained a very great regard and reverence; and who, if she had lived some years longer, might have preserved him from various errors, by her affectionate and prudent admonitions¹¹⁸.

Treaties
confirmed.

In the first year of his reign Henry confirmed the treaties which had been made by his father, with the emperor, the kings of France, Spain, and Scotland, and declared his resolution to cultivate peace with all these princes¹¹⁹. How happy would it have been for him and his subjects, if he had adhered to that wise and virtuous resolution!

Trials of
Empson
and Dud-
ley.

Though a few of the inferior agents in the late oppressions had been punished, the people could not be satisfied while the two grand oppressors, Empson and Dudley, remained alive. It was not so easy, however, to convict them, as it had been to convict their under-agents. They were both expert lawyers, had acted with great caution, and had carefully preserved the orders they had received from their late master for all their transactions.

¹¹⁷ Herbert, p. 4.¹¹⁸ Stowe, p. 427.¹¹⁹ Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 257. 260, 261. 267.

When

A.D. 1509.

When they were first brought before the council, Empson, who was equally bold and eloquent, made a noble defence for himself and his fellow-prisoner. "The crime," he said, "of which they were accused, and for which they were to be tried, was of a very extraordinary nature. Others were tried for violating the laws, but they were to be tried for putting the laws in execution, though they were bound to do so by their offices, and by the express commands of their sovereign, to whom the execution of the law was committed by the constitution. If they were to be sacrificed to the clamours of those whom their duty had obliged them to punish, he intreated that the cause of their sufferings might be kept a profound secret; because if it was known in foreign countries, it would be concluded that all law and government were dissolved in England¹¹⁰." In a word, it was soon found that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to convict these men of the crimes of which they had been really guilty, without bringing a heavy load of infamy on the memory of the late king, by whose direction and authority they had acted. It was resolved, therefore, to try them for a crime for which they could plead no authority, but of which, it is probable, they were not guilty; trusting to the public odium under which they laboured for a verdict against them. Accordingly, Edmund Dudley was tried at Guildhall in London, July 16th, for high treason, and found guilty;

¹¹⁰ Herbert, p. 3.

A. D. 1509.



and sir Richard Empson was tried at Northampton, October 1st, for the same crime, and also found guilty. The same accusation was brought against both; viz. that in March last, when the late king was sick, they had engaged certain of their friends to be ready to appear in arms in London, as soon as the king died; whence it was inferred, that they had conspired to seize the person of the young king, and either to rule him, or put him to death; than which inference nothing could be more improbable. After they were found guilty, they were committed to the Tower ¹²¹.

A. D. 1510.
Wolsey introduced at court.

Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester, had been so long accustomed to court-favour and public business, that he ardently desired to recover the influence which he had lost; and with this view, he resolved to introduce a person to the king who he hoped would prove a powerful coadjutor to himself, and a formidable competitor to his rival, the earl of Surrey. This was the famous Thomas Wolsey, so well known in history by the title of Cardinal Wolsey, who, from the humble station of a butcher's son in Ipswich, arrived at a degree of opulence, power, and influence, in the affairs of Europe, to which no British subject ever attained. Fox was well acquainted with Wolsey's great activity, captivating address, and dexterity in business, from the success with which he had executed some commissions in the late reign ¹²²; but the rapid progress he made in gaining the confidence

¹²¹ Herbert, p. 4, 5.

¹²² See Biographia Britannica, article Wolsey.

and favour of the young king, far exceeded his expectations and desires: for though Henry was then only in his nineteenth, and Wolsey in his fortieth year, before he had been many months at court, he became his bosom friend, the companion of all his pleasures, the repository of all his secrets, the dispenser of all his favours, and at length his only confidential minister. The first office bestowed on Wolsey was that of king's almoner, with a grant of all deadlands and forfeitures for felony, to which many other offices, benefices, and grants were soon after added¹²³. In November, A. D. 1510, he was admitted a member of the privy council, and from that time he was really prime minister.

A. D. 1510.

The first parliament in this reign met at Westminster, January 21st, A. D. 1510. The temporal peers summoned to this parliament were, one duke, one marquis, eight earls, and twenty-six barons¹²⁴. Henry VII. was as frugal of his honours as of his money. William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor, made a speech, or rather preached a sermon, to both houses, on this text: "Fear God, and honour the king;" insisting chiefly on the last part of his text¹²⁵. Receivers and triers of petitions, according to the custom of those times, were then nominated. The commons chose sir Thomas Inglefield to be their speaker, who was presented to the king in the house of lords, January 23d, and accepted. At

Parliament.

¹²³ Rym. Foed. tom. xiii. p. 267. 269. Biographia Britannica.

¹²⁴ Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 2.

¹²⁵ Ibid. p. 3.

A. D. 1510.

the same time an order was made, that both houses should meet at nine in the morning, for the dispatch of business.

Proceed-
ings in
parlia-
ment.

The great object of this parliament was, to prevent the repetition of those vexatious exactions and prosecutions which had occasioned so much distress and discontent in the preceding reign. With this view, some of those antiquated penal laws, on which these prosecutions had been founded, were repealed, and others explained, and their severity mitigated¹²⁶. With the same view, Empson and Dudley, who had been already found guilty of high treason by a jury of their peers, were attainted by an act of parliament, and both beheaded on Tower-hill, August 17th, by a warrant extorted from the king by the clamours of the people¹²⁷. To shew their affection to their youthful sovereign, this assembly voluntarily granted him two tenths and two fifteenths, though he abounded in treasure, and was at peace with all the world. An imprudent act, which served only to encourage the young king in his extravagance.

Treaty.

A treaty of peace between Henry and Lewis XII. king of France, was concluded March 23d, A. D. 1510, to continue during the lives of the two kings, and great precautions were taken to render it secure¹²⁸. But it will soon appear that all these precautions were in vain, and that this peace was of very short duration. During the re-

¹²⁶ See Statutes, 1 Hen. VIII.

¹²⁷ *Ib d.* cap. iv. *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 7, 8. Stowe, p. 488.

¹²⁸ *Rym. Feod.* tom. xiii. p. 270—275. 277—280. 286. 289.

mainder of this year, Henry had nothing to divert him from pursuing his pleasures and diversions, which he did with great ardour and at an immense expence.

A.D. 1510.

On the first day of January, A. D. 1511, the queen was delivered of a son at Richmond, which gave universal joy to the whole kingdom, as well as to the king and court. But this joy was soon succeeded by sorrow; for the young prince, who was named Henry, expired at the same place on February 23d¹²⁹. Ferdinand of Spain, Henry's father-in-law, now pretended to meditate an expedition against the Moors in Barbary, and solicited an aid of 1000 English archers, which was granted¹³⁰. These troops, which were esteemed the best in Europe, landed at Calais June 1st, and were honourably received and entertained. But Ferdinand, having laid aside this expedition, (which he never really intended,) they were soon after sent home, well contented with their entertainment, and the valuable presents they had received. Henry sent a similar aid of 1500 archers, this summer, to Margaret duchess of Savoy, governess of the Low Countries, for her nephew Charles, prince of Spain, who was at war with the duke of Guilders. These troops, having done good service at several sieges, returned home at the end of the campaign¹³¹.

A.D. 1512.
Queen delivered of a son.

Though England at this time enjoyed a profound peace, which nothing seemed capable of disturbing,

Snare laid for Henry.

¹²⁹ Stowe, p. 228.¹³⁰ Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 296.¹³¹ Stowe, p. 482.

A. D. 1511.

the affairs of the continent were cruelly embroiled; and the most artful schemes were secretly formed to draw the rich and powerful, but young, rash, and unsuspecting Henry, into quarrels, with which he had no concern, and from the issue of which it was determined he should reap no benefit. These schemes were formed by his spiritual father the Pope, and his father-in-law Ferdinand of Spain, two persons for whom he had the greatest veneration; and their proposals were so admirably adapted to work upon his reigning passions of vanity and ambition, that he was more to be pitied than blamed for falling into the snare.

Character
of pope
Julius II.

Pope Julius II. was unquestionably one of the most restless, ambitious, and faithless men that ever lived; and though he pretended to be the viceroy of the meek and peaceful Saviour of mankind, he acted the part of a firebrand during his whole pontificate, and practised every art to kindle and keep alive the flames of war. He had been the chief instrument in forming the famous league of Cambray, for the destruction of the Venetians; and he now laboured, with equal ardour, to form a similar league against the eldest son of the church, and most virtuous prince of the age, Lewis XII. king of France, who, by his power in Italy, he apprehended would obstruct the success of the schemes he had formed for aggrandising the popedom, and his own family, with the spoils of his weaker neighbours. Into this league he proposed to bring not only all the enemies, but all the allies, of the king of France; particularly the emperor
Max-

Maximilian, and the kings of Spain and England.

A. D. 1511.

Schemes of
the pope,
&c.

It would be tedious to trace all the intricate mazes of the negotiations of his holiness, with the emperor and the king of Spain, who were almost as artful and as perfidious as himself. It is sufficient to say, that, after various intrigues, the holy father and his two dearly beloved sons agreed upon this plan: that the pope, who, in conjunction with the Venetians, was already at open war with the king of France, should launch the thunders of the church, against that rebellious son and his subjects, who impiously dared to disobey the common father of all Christians; while the two monarchs should continue to make the strongest professions of inviolable attachment to that prince, till the king of England was engaged in the league, and all the confederates were ready to fall upon him at once. The honourable office of deceiving the king of England, and drawing him into the league, was committed to his father-in-law, who performed it with great dexterity and success¹³².

Ferdinand, by his ambassador at the court of England, communicated to Henry the plan of the league, as a mark of his confidence and paternal affection; and represented how honourable it would be, for a young prince of his great power and piety and learning to become the protector of the church; and how favourable an opportunity this was, of recovering the ancient dominions of his crown in France. To please him still further, it

¹³² Thuanus, lib. i. F. Paul. Hist. Conc. Trent.

was

A. D. 1511.

was promised that the pope would confer upon him the title of the Most Christian King, which the king of France had forfeited; and that he should be declared the head of the holy Italian league¹³³. These offers and proposals were so flattering to Henry's bigotry, vanity, and ambition, that he yielded to the temptation, agreed to enter into the league, and to violate the treaty of peace with Lewis; to the faithful observance of which he had solemnly sworn only a few months before. Having formed this resolution, he began privately to prepare for war, and gave a commission to several gentlemen in each county, June 20th, to array and exercise all the men at arms and archers in their county, and to make a return of their names, and the quality of their arms, before the first day of August¹³⁴. The resolution of declaring war against France, met with opposition in the council of England, on very solid grounds. "The natural situation of islands," it was said, "seems not to suit with conquests on the continent. If we will enlarge ourselves, let it be in the way for which Providence hath fitted us, which is by sea¹³⁵." But Henry was so intoxicated with the thoughts of being the protector of the pope, and of the conquests he expected to make in France, that all opposition was in vain; and he concluded a treaty with his father-in-law, November 10th, A. D. 1511. The preamble of

¹³³ Pet. Martyr. Epist. p. 279. 462. Herbert, p. 2. Guicciard. c. 11.

¹³⁴ Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 300.

¹³⁵ Herbert, p. 2.

this

A. D. 1511.

this treaty affords a curious specimen of political hypocrisy. After representing Lewis XII. as an enemy to God and religion, and a cruel unrelenting persecutor of the church, who despised all admonitions, and had even rejected the generous offer which the pope had made him, of the pardon of all his sins, it proceeds in this pious strain: "That the two kings, knowing how detrimental this conduct might prove to the catholic faith, the church of God, and the welfare of Christendom, had thought proper to agree upon the following articles, to the praise and glory of Almighty God, of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the whole triumphant court of heaven." It is not indeed very easy to discover the connexion between the glory of God and the articles of this treaty, which were to this effect: That the two kings should unite their forces to make a conquest of the province of Guienne, from a prince with whom they were united by the most solemn treaties, and who had given them no offence ¹³⁶.

In this treaty Ferdinand affected to appear perfectly disinterested, and to have nothing at heart but the aggrandisement of the king of England, by the acquisition of Guienne. But this was far from being the intention of that selfish perfidious prince, who contrived to make the expedition turn entirely to his own advantage, and to the great loss and mortification of his dearly-beloved son.

Perfidy of Ferdinand.

Henry, having now resolved upon a war with France, summoned a parliament, which met at

A. D. 1512.
Parliament.

¹³⁶ Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 312, &c.

A. D. 1512.

Westminster, February 4th, A. D. 1512, and was opened by William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, chancellor, with a sermon on these words: "Righteousness and peace kissed each other." On which (says an ancient historian) he preached a long hour and a half, to his great commendation, and the singular comfort of his hearers¹³⁷. No mention was made of the intended war till the fifteenth day of the parliament, when the chancellor disclosed to the lords the secret reason for which it had been called, and caused an apostolic brief to be read, containing a long detail and bitter complaints of the grievous injuries which the king of France had done to the pope and church of Rome. The chancellor, the treasurer, and some other lords, were sent to make the same discovery to the commons¹³⁸.

Proceed-
ings.

The prospect of a war with France was exceedingly pleasing to the people of England in this period. The remembrance of the glorious victories their ancestors had gained, and the great estates they had possessed in that kingdom, was fresh in their minds, and they fondly hoped to gain similar victories and estates. The parliament, therefore, entered with great alacrity into the king's views, and granted two tenths and two fifteenths, to be levied from the laity, and the clergy in convocation granted a subsidy of twenty-three thousand pounds¹³⁹. Then the parliament, after sitting forty-nine days, was prorogued to November 4th.

¹³⁷ Journals, vol. i. p. 10. Stowe, p. 490.

¹³⁸ Journals, p. 13.

¹³⁹ Wilkins Concil. tom. iii. p. 852.

Henry

Henry being now amply furnished with the sinews of war, raised an army of ten thousand men, chiefly archers, with a train of artillery. This army, commanded in chief by the marquis of Dorset, embarked at Southampton May 16th, and landed at Guipiscoa. They were received and treated with respect, but saw no appearance of the Spanish army they expected to join them on their landing. After they had remained a month in their camp, they received a message from Ferdinand, intreating them to have a little patience, and his army would join them in a short time to undertake the siege of Bayonne. But he had a very different object in view ¹⁴⁰.

A. D. 1512.
Expedition
into Spain.

John D'Albert, king of Navarre, was in strict alliance with the king of France, and on that account had been excommunicated by the pope, and his kingdom offered to any prince who would take possession of it. This kingdom lay conveniently for Ferdinand; and therefore, instead of joining his forces to the English for the conquest of Guienne, commanded his general, the duke of Alva, to invade Navarre, with the army he had raised, under pretence of an expedition against the Moors. To facilitate the success of this enterprise, he amused the weak unfortunate king John with delusive negotiations for a peace, while the French were engaged in securing Guienne against the expected invasion. The Spanish army met with little opposition, and made a conquest of Navarre in a few months ¹⁴¹. While the Spanish army was

¹⁴⁰ Stowe, p. 488.

¹⁴¹ Pet. Martyr. Epist. 563. 570, &c.

employed

A. D. 1512.

employed in the conquest of Navarre, the situation of the English in their camp at Fontarabia was exceedingly disagreeable. Too weak to attempt the siege of Bayonne, or engage in any important enterprise, they remained idle in their camp, enraged at their perfidious ally, and brooding over their blasted hopes of conquest. Being ill-supplied with provisions, and making too free with the wines of the country, diseases broke out among them, of which several hundreds died. In the mean time, Ferdinand was not ashamed to importune the marquis of Dorset, by frequent messages, to join the Spanish army, and assist in the conquest of Navarre: but the marquis resisted all these importunities, as being directly contrary to his commission and instructions; and was no less importunate in demanding ships to transport his army back to England, which Ferdinand was obliged, by treaty, to furnish when demanded. At length, when the conquest of Navarre was completed, and the presence of the English was no longer necessary to keep the French at bay, and prevent their opposing the progress of the Spaniards, ships were provided, the English army embarked, and arrived in their own country in December, discontented, dispirited, and diminished in their numbers¹⁴². Thus ended this campaign, in which Ferdinand gained a kingdom, and Henry got nothing but disgrace and loss.

Sea-fight.

Henry, at the same time that he sent his army into Spain, fitted out a fleet of sixteen stout ships,

¹⁴² Hall, f. 20. Herbert, p. 9.

A.D. 1512.

commanded by sir Edward Howard, the lord admiral: who, having conveyed the transports with the troops till they were out of danger, cruised in the channel, took many merchant ships, made several destructive descents on the coasts of France, and then returned to Southampton. The fleet being there supplied with water and provisions, and joined by another squadron of twenty-five sail, put to sea again; and having fallen in with the French fleet, consisting of thirty-nine sail, August 10th, a fierce conflict immediately ensued. In the heat of the action the Regent, of one thousand tons, the largest ship in the English navy, grappled with the French admiral, which taking fire; both ships were presently involved in flames, and all on board, to the number of seventeen hundred men, perished. The two hostile fleets were so much astonished at this deplorable and sudden destruction of so many brave men, that they separated, as if it had been by mutual consent, without any further fighting¹⁴³.

The parliament met again November 4th, the day to which it had been prorogued; and as the king was actually engaged in an expensive war with France, and was preparing for a war with Scotland, they granted him two tenths and two fifteenths, beside an aid of 160,000*l.* to be raised by a poll-tax on persons of all denominations, at rates proportioned to their rank and circumstances. In this session several ladies, lords, and gentlemen, (and among others, Thomas, son and heir of sir Richard Empson,) whose parents and ancestors

Parlia-
ment.¹⁴³ Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 327. Hall, f. 20.

had

A. D. 1512.

had been condemned for treason, and their estates forfeited, were restored to their honours and fortunes¹⁴⁴. The parliament was then prorogued to November 7th, A. D. 1513.

A. D. 1513.
Pope's
death.

Though the preceding campaign had been unprofitable to Henry, it had been very pernicious to the king of France. By his withdrawing the greatest part of his troops from Italy, for the defence of his kingdom, he lost the duchy of Milan, Parma, and Placentia, which had cost France much blood and treasure to acquire. While pope Julius II. was rejoicing in these events, and keenly engaged in forming a powerful confederacy against France, he was overtaken by death, on February 21st, A. D. 1513, and was succeeded in the papal chair, March 11th, by cardinal John de Medici, who took the name of Leo X.¹⁴⁵

Confederacy
against
France.

The new pope prosecuted the schemes of his predecessor, for expelling the French out of Italy, enlarging the papal dominions, and securing the sovereignty of Florence to his own family. The negotiations which had for some time been carried on at Mechlin with great secrecy, for forming a confederacy between the pope, the emperor, and the kings of Spain and England, against France, were brought to a conclusion, and the league was signed by the plenipotentiaries, April 5, A. D. 1513. By the league the pope engaged to invade France in Provence or Dauphiny, and to fulminate the thunders of the church against the king of France and all his allies. The emperor engaged to invade

¹⁴⁴ Rolls, 4 Hen. VIII.¹⁴⁵ Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 249.

A.D. 1513.

France, or some other territories belonging to the king of France out of Italy. To enable him to do this, the king of England was to pay him 100,000 gold crowns. The king of Spain engaged to invade Bearn, Guienne, or Languedoc; and the king of England, Guienne, Normandy, or Picardy. All the invading armies were to be strong and well appointed. None of the confederates were to make a truce or peace with the common enemy, without the consent of all the rest. The emperor and the king of England were to ratify this treaty within one month, the pope and king of Spain within two months ¹⁴⁶.

Perfidy of
the confederates.

Henry was highly pleased with this treaty, and entertained the most sanguine hopes of victories and conquests, by the aid of these powerful allies. But in this he was much mistaken. None of his allies intended to invade France, or to fulfil any of their engagements, but that of receiving his money. Knowing his youthful ardour and ambition, as well as his power and wealth, their object was to engage him in a war with France, from which each of them hoped to derive advantages, without any expence or trouble. So shameful was the duplicity of Ferdinand, his father-in-law, that he was negotiating a truce for one year in his own name, and in the name of his allies, the emperor and the king of England, with the king of France and his allies, the king of Scotland and duke of Guilders; at the same time that he was negotiating the above confederacy against France, and both these treaties

¹⁴⁶ Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 354.

A. D. 1513.

(so contradictory to one another) were concluded, signed, and sworn to with great solemnity, by his plenipotentiaries, at different places, almost on the same day¹⁴⁷. This he esteemed a masterly stroke in politics; but it certainly deserved a very different name.

Henry prepares for a war with Scotland.

As soon as Henry had resolved on a war with France, he laboured earnestly to secure the continuance of peace with Scotland. But all his endeavours were in vain. King James complained that he had been unkindly and even unjustly treated by his brother-in-law, in several particulars. Greater attention was now paid to these complaints than formerly; offers of redress and satisfaction were made, and commissioners appointed, on both sides, to adjust all differences. But these commissioners could come to no agreement¹⁴⁸. The truth is, that king James had secretly resolved to support the ancient allies of his family and country, and concluded a treaty with the king of France, 22d May, A. D. 1512, in which the two monarchs agreed to assist and support one another with all their power against all men. He endeavoured, however, to conceal his hostile intention against England, that his country might not be made the seat of the war. But the English ministers were not deceived. They saw plainly that a war with Scotland was unavoidable, and Henry gave a commission to the earl of Surrey, August 6th, A. D. 1512, to array all the fencible men in York-

¹⁴⁷ Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 350.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid. p. 309. 332. 347. Hollingshed, p. 295, 296.

shire,

shire, and the other five northern counties, and to have them in constant readiness to oppose the Scots ¹⁴⁹. Negotiations for an accommodation were still carried on, and Henry gave one commission, February 2d, A. D. 1513, to William lord Conyers and sir Robert Drury, to treat with the commissioners of the king of Scotland, with power to promise the redress of all grievances; and another to lord Dacre and Doctor West, to the same purpose, February 15th ¹⁵⁰. But these negotiations were unsuccessful.

A. D. 1513.

Expedition into France.

Henry spent the first five months of this year in making every possible preparation for a vigorous offensive war with France, and defensive war with Scotland. For though he had no real ground of quarrel with either of these powers, he was so deluded by the promises of his deceitful allies, and by the vain ambition of appearing the great protector of the pope and church, that he embarked in these wars with the greatest ardour and the most sanguine hopes of success. About the middle of May the earl of Shrewsbury conducted eight thousand men to Calais; and was followed by lord Herbert with six thousand, about the end of that month ¹⁵¹. With these troops they invested Tiruenne, a strong town in Artois, June 22. The king, having appointed the queen regent of the kingdom, sailed from Dover June 30th, and landed at Calais the same evening, attended by an army of twelve thousand men, his favourite Wolfey, now his prime mi-

¹⁴⁹ Rym. Foed. tom. xiii. p. 339.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. p. 346, 347.

¹⁵¹ Ibid. p. 370.

A. D. 1513.

nister, and a gallant train of noblemen and gentlemen, impatient to display their courage under the eye of their youthful sovereign.

Tiruenne was bravely defended by a numerous garrison; and a report prevailing that the duke of Longueville was advancing with an army to his relief, Henry marched from Calais July 21st, and arrived in the camp before Tiruenne with eleven thousand men August 4th. The emperor Maximilian, who, as well as the other confederates, had made no preparation for invading France, was not ashamed to enlist in the service of the king of England at the rate of 100 crowns a-day, and proved an useless expensive soldier, and most pernicious counsellor. On the approach of the duke of Longueville, Henry drew out to meet him, and an action ensued August 19th, commonly called *the battle of the spurs*, in which the English obtained an easy victory: for the French cavalry, seized with a panic, used their spurs instead of their swords, and galloping off, left their general and several brave officers in the hands of their enemies¹⁵². The garrison of Tiruenne, despairing of any relief, surrendered the place on honourable terms August 22d. This conquest, which had cost Henry an immense sum of money, was dismantled and destroyed, by the interested advice of the emperor, that its garrison might no longer infest the contiguous territories of his son, Charles duke of Burgundy.

¹⁵² Herbert, p. 16. Peter Martyr, ep. 526, 527.

Henry

Henry was again misled by the emperor, whose age, dignity, and cunning gave him such an ascendant, that he directed all the motions of the English army to promote his own views. Instead of taking advantage of the consternation into which the French were thrown by their late defeat, he proceeded in great state, by slow marches, and invested the populous city of Tournay, September 22d. The citizens of Tournay enjoyed several peculiar privileges, and, among others, that of defending their own city; for which, on this occasion, they discovered themselves to be very unfit. They surrendered a few days after they were summoned, agreeing to pay 50,000 crowns immediately, 4000 livres a-year for ten years, and to admit an English garrison¹⁵³.

A.D. 1513.
Tournay
taken.

On the same day that Tournay surrendered, Henry received the important news of the death of James IV. who had been slain September 9th, in the memorable battle of Flowden-field, of which a circumstantial account shall be given in the History of Scotland.

Death of
James IV.

Henry was greatly elated by this flow of success, and kept a most magnificent court at Tournay. He was there visited by Margaret governess of the Low Countries, and her nephew Charles prince of Spain, with a splendid train of lords and ladies, who were all sumptuously feasted, and nobly entertained with tournaments and other diversions, for fourteen days, at an incredible expence¹⁵⁴. Henry returned this visit, October 11th, to the

Confederacy.

¹⁵³ Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 377. Herbert, p. 17.

¹⁵⁴ Hall, f. 45. Rym. p. 379.

A.D. 1513.

court of Burgundy at Lisle, where he spent several days in the diversions of those times. While the princes and their courtiers were engaged in these amusement, their ministers were employed in negotiating a new treaty of confederacy against France, which was signed and sealed by the king of England at Lisle, October 15th. By this treaty it was stipulated, 1. That, as winter was approaching, the king of England, after leaving a sufficient garrison in Tournay, might retire with his army into his own dominions. 2. That the emperor should keep on foot an army of six thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry, during the winter and spring, for the defence of the Low Countries, the further security of Tournay, and for harassing the frontiers of France; and that Henry, to enable him to do this, should pay him 30,000 crowns of gold on the last day of each of the six winter and spring months, and 20,000 in May; in all 200,000. 3. That, by the first of June next, the emperor and the king of England should invade France, each at the head of a powerful army, and neither make peace nor truce but by mutual consent. 4. That the emperor, his daughter the archduchess Margaret, his grandson Charles duke of Burgundy, the king of England, his queen, and his sister the princess Mary, should all meet at Calais about the middle of May, and there solemnize the marriage of Charles and Mary¹⁵⁵. In this transaction all was sincerity on the side of

¹⁵⁵ Hall, f. 45. Rym. p. 379.

Henry,

Henry, and all the grossest dissimulation on the part of his confederate.

A. D. 1513.

The bishopric of Tournay had been lately vacant, and the bishop-elect refusing to swear fealty to the conqueror, Henry bestowed that rich see, with the abbey of St. Martin's in the same city, *in commendam*, on his almoner and favourite, Thomas Wolsey, who attended him in that expedition. This was a strong mark of the king's esteem and friendship, which was soon followed by many others ¹⁵⁶.

Wolsey
bishop of
Tournay.

Henry, having left sir Edward Poynings with a competent garrison in Tournay, marched the rest of his army to Calais, where he embarked November 24th, and landed at Dover the same day. Thence he proceeded to Richmond, where the queen resided, and bestowed rewards and honours on several lords and gentlemen, who had attended him in France, or had fought under the earl of Surrey against the Scots ¹⁵⁷. In the distribution of rewards Wolsey was not neglected. He was appointed bishop of Lincoln, and the rich abbey of Saint Albans was given him *in commendam*.

Henry re-
turns to
England.

In this campaign the English had behaved every where with their usual bravery, and their arms had been crowned with success; but that success, though purchased at an immense expence, was of no advantage to their country. They had indeed greatly distressed the king of France, with whom they had no quarrel; they had also killed the king of Scots, their sovereign's nearest relation, who

His success
unprofit-
able.

¹⁵⁶ Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 6.

¹⁵⁷ Hall, f. 46.

A. D. 1513.

would have been his most faithful ally, if he had not wantonly engaged in this unnecessary war with France; they had likewise gained the city of Tournay, which they kept a few years with much difficulty and at a great expence¹⁵⁸. They had, it is true, most effectually promoted the interests of their treacherous confederates, the pope, the emperor, and the king of Spain, who violated all their engagements, and deserted them without a moment's hesitation, as soon as they had obtained their own ends. May their posterity avoid engaging in quarrels, in which they have little or no concern, and lavishing their blood and treasures for faithless ungrateful allies!

A. D. 1514.
Perfidy of
the pope
and the
other con-
federates.

While Henry was thus fighting the battles of the church, the pope regaled him (to please his vanity) with the grossest flattery; and, at the same time, boldly trampled on the rights of his crown and the laws of his country. He sent four bulls into England, dated in February, A. D. 1514. By one of these he declared, that he had reserved the bishopric of Lincoln to his own disposal. By another he bestowed that bishopric on Thomas Wolsey; declaring any other nomination or election that had been made by any others, through ignorance or presumption, (meaning the nomination by the king and election by the chapter,) to be null and void. By the third, he prescribed the form of the oath of obedience to the pope and see of Rome, Wolsey was to swear, in which he did not forget to make him swear to persecute all he-

¹⁵⁸ Strype, vol. i. ch. i.

A.D. 1514.

retics and schismatics. By the fourth, he commanded the chapter of Lincoln to receive and obey Wolsey as their bishop¹⁵⁹. Wolsey accepted of these bulls by which he was involved in a pre-munire, but obtained a pardon from the king March 4th¹⁶⁰. Before this, the pope had secretly concluded a peace with the king of France, without giving the least hint of his intention to the champion of the church, whose arms had brought that prince to submit to his terms: a conduct equally contemptuous, treacherous, and ungrateful. After that peace was concluded, he wrote Henry a most flattering letter extolling his zeal and piety in espousing the cause of the church so warmly; and telling him, that his invincible bravery, and the terror of his name, had compelled its enemies to submit, by which the design of the war was accomplished, and he had gained immortal glory¹⁶¹. Still further to please him, and prevent his resenting so many affronts and injuries, he sent him a consecrated sword and bonnet, accompanied with a letter, full of the most fulsome flattery, which were received with great ceremony as presents of inestimable value¹⁶². Such was the vanity of this prince, and the bigotry of those times! Henry's other confederates were no less perfidious, than their holy father the pope. Maximilian violated every stipulation of the late treaty of Lisle, without any hesitation or apology; and Ferdinand, at the same time that he was soliciting his son-in-law to

¹⁵⁹ Rym. Foed. tom. xiii. p. 390.¹⁶⁰ Ibid. p. 394.¹⁶¹ Ibid. p. 386.¹⁶² Ibid. p. 393.

A.D. 1514

Treaties
with
France
began.

enter into a new confederacy against France, concluded a truce with that crown for another year¹⁶³.

Though Henry, blinded by his own bigotry, the interested councils of his favourite Wolsey, and the arts of his confederates, had engaged with great ardour in this war against France, he now began to see his error, and the treachery of his allies. The duke of Longueville, who was then a prisoner in England, and admitted by Henry to share in his pleasures and amusements, took every opportunity of unfolding the characters, and exposing the deceitful arts of his confederates; and of extolling the honour and good faith of his own sovereign, and representing the earnest desire he had of a peace, and an intimate and cordial friendship with the young king of England, for whom he entertained the highest esteem. When the duke found that the king listened to these discourses, he proposed a treaty of peace, to be cemented by a marriage between his sovereign (who had lately become a widower) and the lady Mary, Henry's youngest sister. That princess had been betrothed to the emperor's grandson, Charles prince of Spain; and by one article of the contract, the prince had engaged to send an ambassador into England, to espouse the princess in his name within forty days after he had completed his fourteenth year. The prince had neglected to perform this article; and therefore the princess and the king her brother thought themselves at liberty to enter into other engagements. Henry, who was an affectionate

¹⁶³ Rym. tom. xiii. p. 395.

brother,

A. D. 1514.

brother, was much pleased with the proposed marriage, and, in conversation, he acquainted the duke with the preliminaries on which he was willing to treat of the peace and marriage. The subject of this conversation he immediately communicated in a familiar letter, written with his own hand, to his favourite Wolsey. In this remarkable letter, directed To my Lord of Lincoln, he informed him, that the preliminaries were these two: 1. That the peace should be for the joint lives of the two kings, and one year longer. 2. That the king of France should pay him 100,000 crowns a-year. To which, says he, the duke answered, "that he colde natt assure me theroff; but that he trustyde, seyng my demans were so resonable, that hys master wholde agre thereto. On trust hereon we woll that yow begyne to penne the resydue off the artycylles as soone as yow can. And thus fare yow well. Written with the hande off your lovyng master, HENRY R. ¹⁶⁴"

Though Lewis disliked the second preliminary, he was so desirous of the peace and marriage, that (hoping to obtain an alteration in the treaty) he gave one commission to the duke of Longueville, John de Sylva, and Thomas Bohier, to treat of a peace with England, dated July 29th, A. D. 1514; and another commission to the same persons, on the same day, to treat of his marriage with the princess Mary. He furnished these commissioners, at the same time, with full powers to bind and oblige him to pay to the king of England one million of

Treaties
with
France
finished.

¹⁶⁴ See Rym. tom. xiii. p. 403, 404.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid. p. 408.

crowns,

A. D. 1514.

crowns, partly as arrears due on several accounts, and partly as a testimony of the great esteem and love he bore to that prince¹⁶⁵. This he hoped Henry would be prevailed upon to accept, instead of the 100,000 crowns a-year, which he was unwilling to grant, as it had the appearance of an annual tribute: and in this hope he was not disappointed. On the same day that the king of France executed these deeds at St. Germain's, the princess Mary solemnly renounced her espousals with the prince of Spain, on account of his breach of faith, and her contempt of him and aversion to him for that reason, in her brother's palace of Wainstet, in the presence of many persons of high rank¹⁶⁶. Henry appointed the duke of Norfolk, Thomas Wolsey bishop of Lincoln, and postulate archbishop of York, and Richard Fox bishop of Winchester, his plenipotentiaries, August 2d, to treat with those of France on the peace and marriage. As both parties were really desirous of the peace and alliance, these treaties were finished in five days, and signed at London, August 7th, A. D. 1514¹⁶⁷. As the English plenipotentiaries were prevailed upon, in the negotiation, to depart from their demand of 100,000 crowns a-year, and accept of the sum of one million of crowns for the whole, another treaty for regulating the terms of payment, and assigning the reasons for which that sum was to be paid, was signed at the same time¹⁶⁸. Thus was this holy war (as it was called) terminated by sti-

¹⁶⁵ See Rym. tom. xiii. p. 408.¹⁶⁶ Ibid. p. 409.¹⁶⁷ Ibid. p. 413-427.¹⁶⁸ Ibid. p. 428-439.

pulations merely secular, and the defence of the church and the pope, from the persecution of the king of France; the pretence for which it had been undertaken, was not so much as mentioned in any of these treaties. The plenipotentiaries of France earnestly endeavoured to procure the restoration of Tournay for a sum of money; but though it was evidently Henry's interest to restore it, Wolsey's apprehensions of losing the profits of that rich bishopric rendered all their efforts abortive. In this manner that insolent favourite sacrificed the interests of his king and country to his own.

A. D. 1514.

While these treaties were in agitation, the king received a letter from cardinal John de Medicis, dated at Rome July 14th, acquainting him, that his ambassador cardinal Bambridge, archbishop of York, had died on that day; and that the pope, at his request, had promised not to appoint a successor to his see, till he knew his majesty's pleasure¹⁶⁹. The king immediately recommended Wolsey; and in the mean time granted him, August 5th, the custody of the archbishopric, with all its revenues¹⁷⁰. Thus was this insatiable aspiring priest at once possessed of the archbishopric of York, the bishoprics of Tournay and Lincoln, the administration of the bishoprics of Worcester, Hereford, and Bath, (whose bishops were foreigners,) with several rich abbeys and other benefices, which made his revenues far superior to those of any other peer or prelate, if not to those of the king himself. The pope complied with

Greatness
of Wolsey.

¹⁶⁹ See Rym. tom. xiii. p. 404.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid. p. 450.

Henry's

A.D. 1514. Henry's recommendation, and appointed Wolsey archbishop of York, on account of his extraordinary learning, piety, and virtue. Such was the hypocritical cant of the court of Rome, in which truth was totally disregarded.

Marriage. In consequence of the late treaty, the king of France espoused the princess Mary of England, by his proxy, Lewis duke of Longueville, at Greenwich, August 13th; after which the princess assumed the title of queen of France. When all things were prepared, the young and blooming queen was conducted by the duke of Norfolk, with a splendid train of lords and ladies, to Abbeville, and there married to Lewis XII. in person, October 9th, A. D. 1514⁷⁷; but this marriage had not subsisted three months, when it was dissolved by the death of the king, January 1st, A. D. 1515.

Parliament. The parliament had been prorogued November 7th, A. D. 1513, to January 20th, A. D. 1514, when it met at Westminster for dispatch of business. In the time of this session, several noblemen who had distinguished themselves in the preceding campaign in France and the north of England, were raised to higher titles, by royal patents, containing valuable grants of lands, as rewards for their services, and to enable them to support their honours: particularly Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, was created duke of Norfolk; Sir Charles Brandon, viscount Lisle, was created duke of Suffolk; Thomas Howard, son to the duke of Norfolk, was

⁷⁷ See Rym. tom. xiii. p. 333—335.

created

created earl of Surrey; and Humphrey Stafford was restored to the title of duke of Buckingham, and the estates of his family, which had been forfeited by his father; and these patents, with the grants contained in them, were confirmed by acts of parliament¹⁷². As Henry was then preparing for another vigorous campaign against France, parliament granted him an aid of 160,000l.¹⁷³ But his councils soon took a more pacific turn.

A. D. 1514.
}

Though the death of Lewis XII. considering his age and infirmities, and the very unequal marriage in which he had fondly engaged, excited little surprise, it occasioned no little sorrow among his own subjects, by whom he was much beloved, and who had given him the honourable name of *the father of the people*. He was a brave, honourable, and wise prince, though he had been often deceived by Maximilian and Ferdinand, two of the greatest dissemblers (to give them no harsher name) that ever lived. His death was a misfortune to England as well as France, as it dissolved the union between the two royal families, and rendered the late peace (so salutary to both nations) precarious. He was succeeded by Francis duke of Angouleme, the nearest male heir to the crown, who had married the princess Claude, his eldest daughter.

A. D. 1515.
Character
of Lewis
XII.

Mary, now queen-dowager of France, was young, beautiful, and rich, and therefore likely to be courted by the greatest princes; and both her brother and the king of France, for political reasons,

Marriage.

¹⁷² See Rolls of Parliament, 5 Hen. VIII.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

were

A. D. 1515.

were anxious about her choice of a second husband. But the lady soon put an end to their anxiety, and consulting only her own inclinations, about two months after she had become a widow, married Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk, one of the handsomest and most accomplished noblemen of the age. Henry was, or pretended to be, displeased at this marriage. But his displeasure, whether real or pretended, was not of long duration. The queen and her husband returned into England, were well received by Henry, and publicly married at Greenwich, May 13th. The queen, it is said, brought with her 200,000 crowns in money and jewels ¹⁷⁴.

Parliament.

A new parliament met at Westminster, February 5th, A. D. 1515. The commons chose sir Thomas Neville for their speaker, who acquitted himself so much to the satisfaction of the king and both houses, that he was made a knight of the garter in full parliament; "an honour (say the Journals) that had never been conferred on any mortal man in any age ¹⁷⁵." On the sixth day of the parliament, the chancellor, accompanied by several lords and prelates, went to the commons, and acquainted them, that the reasons which had induced the king to call this parliament were these two: 1. That they might determine how the money that had been granted by the last parliament, and not yet levied, should be collected. 2. That the Scots had made great depredations on the English, both by sea and land, which had determined the

¹⁷⁴ Herbert, p. 22.¹⁷⁵ Journals, vol. i. p. 20.

king to declare war against them; and he intreated the commons to consider diligently the great expences in which that war would involve him. This was a modest way of asking a supply; but the commons did not take the hint. After making several laws, the parliament was prorogued April 5th, to the 12th of November ¹⁷⁶.

A. D. 1515.

The claims of the kings of France on the duchy of Milan, and other territories in Italy, involved them and their subjects in many and great calamities. Francis I., at his accession, was too brave and ambitious to relinquish any of these destructive claims. On the contrary, he panted with the most impatient ardour to assert them, with all the forces of his kingdom. This made him very desirous of a solid peace with England; and he sent two ambassadors to London to treat with Henry and his ministers for that purpose. The plenipotentiaries of the two crowns concluded and signed, April 5th, a treaty of peace almost verbatim the same with that which had been lately made with Lewis XII. This peace was to continue during the joint lives of the two kings, and a year after the death of him who died first. On the same day the French ambassadors signed another treaty, binding and obliging their master to pay to the king of England one million of crowns, deducting 50,000 francs which had been paid by Lewis XII. ¹⁷⁷ This proves that these treaties were intended to confirm those that had been made with the late king. The allies of both the contracting powers were com-

Treaties.

¹⁷⁶ Journals, vol. i. p. 42.

¹⁷⁷ Rym. tom. xiii. p. 473—491.

A. D. 1515.

Wolsey's
promot-
ion.

prehended in the treaty of peace; but the Scots only on this condition, that they committed no hostilities against the English after the 15th of May.

Though Wolsey, archbishop of York, who had the chief direction in all these transactions, had already attained to a greater degree both of wealth and power than any other English subject had ever reached, he was far from being satisfied. "When he was once archbishop, (says a contemporary historian,) he studied day and night how to be a cardinal, and caused the king and the French king to write to Rome for him."¹⁷⁸ Several cardinals were averse to his advancement; but the pope, knowing his absolute sway over the mind of his royal master, was desirous of gaining his friendship, and in full consistory declared him a cardinal, September 11th. Francis I. who was then in Italy, willing to assume some merit on the occasion, sent him the first notice of his promotion. As soon as he received the agreeable news, he hastened to communicate them to the king, but affected to have great scruples about accepting so high an honour, of which he thought himself unworthy. The king saluted him My Lord Cardinal, and soon overcame his scruples¹⁷⁹. This was soon followed by another promotion. The pope a few days afterwards appointed his legate the new cardinal for England.

Wolsey's
greatness.

From this time Wolsey set no bounds to his pride and arrogance: but made a most arbitrary use of his power, and a most disgusting display of

¹⁷⁸ Hall, f. 56.¹⁷⁹ Id. *ibid.*

his

A. D. 1515.

his wealth. When his cardinal's hat was brought to England, he caused the bearer of it to be met on Blackheath, and conducted through London with as much pomp as if the pope himself had made his appearance; and his reception of it in Westminster-abbey resembled the coronation of a king¹⁸⁰. Several of the king's most ancient and respectable counsellors, seeing themselves so much eclipsed and so little regarded, resolved to retire from court. The duke of Norfolk absented himself as much as possible, but did not resign his office of treasurer at this time¹⁸¹. Fox, bishop of Winchester, retired to his diocese, and resigned his office of keeper of the privy seal¹⁸². On his taking leave of the king, he presumed to caution him, "not to make any of his subjects greater than himself;" to which Henry sternly replied, "that he knew how to keep all his subjects in subjection." William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, resigned his office of chancellor, by delivering the great seal to the king December 22d, which was immediately committed to Wolfey, who may be said to have reigned in England the ten succeeding years without a rival¹⁸³; for Henry, during all that time, with all his self-conceit and haughtiness, was little more than the nominal, while Wolfey was the real king of England¹⁸⁴.

The people of those times were greatly perplexed how to account for the blind and obstinate attach-

Causes of his greatness.

¹⁸⁰ Stowe, p. 500.¹⁸¹ Rym. p. 555—564.¹⁸² Rym. p. 553.¹⁸³ Herbert, p. 24. Rym. p. 529.¹⁸⁴ Erasmus, lib. 26. epist. 55.

A. D. 1515.

ment of so haughty a prince to so insolent a favourite. The vulgar of all ranks ascribed this to necromancy, and firmly believed that the cardinal had bewitched the king. But wise men ascribed this extraordinary phenomenon to its true cause, the extraordinary capacity and cunning of the cardinal, who contrived to render himself always agreeable, always useful, and always necessary to the king. The arts he employed for these purposes were innumerable, of which I shall mention only a few. Henry was fond of pleasurable amusements, in which he spent much of his time. The cardinal, who was himself a man of pleasure, encouraged this passion, contrived amusements for him, partook of them, and provided him with companions and playfellows, who were his own creatures, and communicated to him every word the king spoke in his most unguarded moments. He recommended Longland, bishop of Lincoln, his old and faithful friend, to be the king's confessor; "and when the king's grace shrove himself, (says a writer then at court,) think ye not that he spoke so loud that the cardinal heard him ¹⁸⁵." The king's chaplains were all his confidants and creatures, and watered (says the same writer) what the cardinal had sown. He danced and frolicked with the ladies of the court, and made them presents to gain their favour and obtain intelligence. He was a skilful flatterer, and frequently regaled the king with that most palatable dish, nicely adapted to his taste.

¹⁸⁵ Cavendish apud Strype, vol. i. p. 124.

Above all, knowing Henry's high esteem of his own wisdom, and obstinate adherence to his own opinions, by long trains artfully laid, he got the schemes which he himself had formed, to be proposed by the king, which he then praised and adopted as the best and wisest that could be invented ¹⁸⁶. By these and various other arts, this admirable but unprincipled politician gained, and long retained, the favour of one of the most capricious and passionate princes that ever lived.

A. D. 1515.

Wolsey shamefully abused the unbounded confidence reposed in him by his royal master, and on several occasions sacrificed the honour of his prince, and the prosperity of his country, to his own passions and private interests. He had persuaded Henry to retain Tournay, that he might retain the revenues of the bishopric. But the French bishop elect gave him much trouble, and made strenuous efforts to obtain possession of his see; and Wolsey discovered, by his spies at Rome, that Francis I. had espoused the cause of the bishop, and solicited the pope for a bull in his favour ¹⁸⁷. Incensed at this, the vindictive prelate persuaded Henry to violate the treaty of peace he had made with Francis only a few months before, and to form a new confederacy against France with Maximilian and Ferdinand, who had so often deceived him. Henry hesitated at this strong measure, and wished for the advice of his old counsellors. The duke of Norfolk, the archbishop of

Wolsey's
abuse of
his power.¹⁸⁶ Cavendish apud Strype, vol. i. p. 124.¹⁸⁷ Strype, vol. i. chap. 1.

A.D. 1575.

Canterbury, and the bishop of Winchester, were sent for to court, and a council was held in the king's presence. The ancient counsellors argued strongly against a breach with France, as highly imprudent, dishonourable, and unjust. The cardinal made a long and violent harangue against Francis, as a prince of insatiable ambition, who, by his late successes in Italy, was become formidable to all his neighbours; and that there was a necessity for England to interpose, to prevent the increase of his power. The bishop of Durham, and the other counsellors under Wolfey's influence, were of the same opinion. At the conclusion of the council, Henry declared, that he was determined to put a stop to the progress of the French arms in Italy, but that he hoped to do that without an open war, by supplying the emperor Maximilian with money¹⁸⁸. That plan was adopted; an ambassador was sent to the emperor, furnished with a large sum of money, and bills for a still greater sum on the Friscobaldi, famous Italian bankers, to engage him to march an army into Italy, to recover Milan from the French, and give it up to Francisco Sforza, brother to Maximilian Sforza, who had resigned all his rights to the king of France. Sforza, who assumed the name of duke of Milan, engaged to pay Wolfey an annual pension of 10,000 ducats; and Wolfey engaged to make the king of England his perpetual friend and protector¹⁸⁹. In this manner did this covetous and corrupt minister sell his sovereign and his country. The

Treaty
with the
emperor.

¹⁸⁸ Herbert, p. 25.¹⁸⁹ Rym. p. 525.

same

same ambassador, (doctor Richard Pace,) by the same powerful argument, money, enlisted an army of Swiss, to fight under the emperor in his expedition into Italy. Maximilian took the ambassador's bills and money, marched into Italy, and, after a feeble attempt upon Milan, disbanded his army, and returned into Germany; giving this for his excuse, that the Friscobaldi had become bankrupts, and could not pay their bills¹⁹⁰. Thus was Henry obliged to sit down, as well contented as he could, with the loss of his money, and the mortification of having discovered his animosity against Francis, without doing him any harm.

The parliament met November 12th, the day to which it had been prorogued. As peace had been so lately concluded, Wolsey dared not yet divulge his hostile designs against France, and therefore had no pretence to demand a supply. But the king's coffers being much exhausted by his expensive amusements, and his remittances into Germany, a bill was brought into the house of peers, on the fortieth day of the parliament, for a subsidy to be granted to the king, and being read once, was carried by the lord chancellor to the house of commons. There, it is probable, it met with an unfavourable reception; for the parliament was dissolved the next day, December 22d; and on the same day archbishop Warham resigned the great seal¹⁹¹. Henry and his favourite seem now to have taken a dislike to parliaments, for no par-

Parliament.

¹⁹⁰ Herbert, p. 25. Hall, f. 59. Petrus de Angleria, p. 568.

¹⁹¹ Journals, p. 56. Rym. p. 529.

A. D. 1515. liament was held after this, till July 31st, A. D. 1523¹⁹².

Contest
between
the clergy
and laity.

One thing that contributed to give the favourite an aversion to parliaments was, the violent contest between the last one and the convocation, which sat at the same time, about the exemption of the clergy from the jurisdiction of the secular courts. This matter was solemnly argued before the king, lords, and commons. Doctor Standish, guardian of the minorets in London, and chief of the king's spiritual council, argued strongly against the exemption. The clergy, enraged at this, called him before the convocation. Standish, who could expect neither justice nor mercy from such interested judges, implored the king's protection. The temporal peers, the commons, and judges, petitioned the king to support the rights of his crown, and the authority of his laws, against the encroachments of the clergy. This involved Henry, who was at once fond of power, and a bigot to the church, in great perplexity. He consulted doctor Veysey, dean of his chapel, of whose learning and virtue he had a high opinion, and the doctor declared against the exemption. All the judges gave it as their opinion, that those of the convocation who had awarded the citation of Dr. Standish were in a præmunire. In an assembly of both houses of parliament, the convocation, and judges, the king, at last, declared, that it was his resolution to maintain the rights of

his crown, and jurisdiction of his courts, in as ample a manner as any of his progenitors had done¹⁹³. This affair is not mentioned in the Journals; but doctor Taylor, who was clerk of parliament, and prolocutor of the convocation, hath added this note: "In this parliament and convocation, most dangerous contests arose between the clergy and the laity about ecclesiastical immunities. One Standish, a minoret, was the author of all these evils¹⁹⁴."

A. D. 1519.
Birth and death.

Queen Katherine was delivered of a daughter, February 11th, A. D. 1516, who was named Mary, and will be often mentioned in the sequel of this work¹⁹⁵. In the same month died the queen's father, Ferdinand king of Spain, and was succeeded in his extensive dominions by his grandson Charles, already sovereign of all the territories of the house of Burgundy, and heir to those of the house of Austria, which, with the empire of Germany, came soon after into his possession.

A. D. 1516.
Birth and death.

The death of Ferdinand and accession of Charles engaged the attention of all the great princes and states in Europe, and gave occasion to various negotiations. Henry had concluded a commercial treaty with Charles as sovereign of the Low Countries, January 24th, A. D. 1516, only a few days before his grandfather's death; and now foreseeing his future power and greatness, he wished to form a more intimate connexion with him¹⁹⁶.

Treaties.

¹⁹³ Burnet's Hist. Reform. vol. iii. p. 13—17.

¹⁹⁴ Journals, p. 57.

¹⁹⁵ Stowe, p. 504.

¹⁹⁶ Rym. p. 533—539.

With

A.D. 1516.

With this view, and to gratify the resentment of his favourite against Francis, he gave a commission to cardinal Wolsey, the duke of Norfolk, and the bishop of Durham, to negotiate with the plenipotentiaries of the emperor Maximilian, and his grandson Charles king of Spain, a league and confederacy in defence of the church, and to restrain the unbridled ambition of certain princes, meaning the king of France. This holy league, of which the pope was declared the head, was concluded at London, October 29th, A. D. 1516⁹⁷. In this league they were ashamed to name the prince against whom it was formed; and they had good reason to be ashamed: for all the confederates had very lately made treaties of peace with Francis, and he had not done any of them the smallest injury. This was another absurd transaction into which Henry was betrayed by the covetous and vindictive spirit of his favourite, and it came to nothing.

Device of
the em-
peror.

In the spring of this year, the emperor attempted to extort money from Henry by a very curious contrivance: In a confidential conversation with Sir Robert Wyngfield, the English ambassador at his court, he pretended to be tired of the toils and cares attending his high office—that he had a prodigious affection for his master the king of England, and was disposed to resign the empire in his favour—that when he was emperor, he might assert his right to the crown of France, in which he would be assisted by the pope, and all

⁹⁷ Rym. p. 556—566.

good christians. The ambassador communicated this fine project to his master, but cautioned him not to depend too much on the emperor's sincerity. Though this bait was admirably dressed to please the predominant passions of the king and his favourite, the design of it was too palpable to escape detection. Henry directed his ambassador to thank the emperor for his friendly intentions, and desire him to keep them secret till the French were driven out of Italy ¹⁹⁸.

A. D. 1516.

The cardinal having failed in his attempts to raise a storm against the king of France, was constrained to suffer his country to continue in peace. Being thus disengaged from political intrigues, he employed himself in discharging the duties of his various offices. As chancellor he is said to have discovered uncommon talents; and his decrees are much applauded, by one of his most eminent successors, for their wisdom, equity, and justice ¹⁹⁹. He called the collectors of the revenues of the crown to a severe account, by which he brought considerable sums of money into the treasury. As papal legate, he acted with unbounded authority; erected no fewer than four new courts, into which he brought persons of all denominations, and pleas of all kinds, and thereby greatly diminished the business of the ordinary courts of law ²⁰⁰. Possessed of all this power, he had not the magnanimity to forgive the affronts he had received when in a humbler station. He confined Sir Amias Pawlet several

A. D. 1517.
Wolsey's
power.¹⁹⁸ Herbert, p. 25.¹⁹⁹ T. More, Lucubrations.²⁰⁰ Stowe, p. 504.

years,

A. D. 1517. years, for having put him in the stocks when he was a young man, for raising a riot in a country fair ²⁰¹.

Courted
by great
princes.

The influence of cardinal Wolsey in all the councils of England was now so well established, and so universally known, that the greatest monarchs courted his friendship. The pope revoked the bull he had granted in favour of Lewis Galliard, bishop elect of Tournay; and, by another, appointed Wolsey administrator of that see; and soon after made him his general collector in England ²⁰²; a very lucrative office to one who had so much power. The young king of Spain granted him a pension of 3000 livres a-year, calling him in the grant, "his most dear and most especial friend ²⁰³." It was no secret that pride and avarice were his ruling passions; and that money and flattery were the most effectual means of gaining his favour.

A. D. 1518. As the king of England at this time held the balance between the two great monarchs of France and Spain, and was able to make either scale he pleased preponderate, the friendship of his favourite was of great importance to both these monarchs, and Wolsey had the satisfaction to see them both courting him with the greatest emulation. Francis, in order to defeat his rival, sent the cardinal many curious and valuable presents, accompanied with the most flattering letters, in which he called him his lord, his father, and his guardian; assured him that he would regard his advices as oracles, and amply reward his services ²⁰⁴. When he had by these means

²⁰¹ Stowe, p. 504.

²⁰² Rym. p. 585—588.

²⁰³ Ibid. 591.

²⁰⁴ Polydore Virgil, lib. xxvii. Herbert, p. 30.

gained

gained the favourite, as much as it was possible to gain one so selfish and interested, he instructed Villeroy, his resident at the court of England, to treat privately with him about the restitution of Tournay, and an alliance between the two crowns, to be cemented by the marriage of the dauphin with the princess Mary, Henry's only child; not forgetting to promise him an indemnification for the bishopric.

A. D. 1518.

When Wolsey perceived that it would be his interest to promote the views of the king of France, he managed his royal master with great dexterity. He presented him with some of the most curious things he had received from Francis, to put him into good humour. "With these things," said he, "hath the king of France attempted to corrupt me. Many servants would have concealed this from their masters, but I am resolved to deal openly with your grace on all occasions. This attempt, however," added he, "to corrupt the servant, is a certain proof of his sincere desire of the friendship of the master." Henry was so far from being offended, that it pleased his vanity, to think that he had chosen so great a minister, who was so much admired and courted by other princes. "The cardinal," said he, "will govern both Francis and me ²⁰⁵."

Wolsey's
artful conduct.

The way being thus prepared, Francis appointed William Gouffier lord of Bonivet, admiral of France; Stephen Ponchier, bishop of Paris; sir Francis de Rupecavarde, and sir Nicholas de Neuf-

Treaties.

²⁰⁵ Polydore Virgil, lib. xxvii. Herbert, p. 30.

A. D. 1518.

ville, his plenipotentiaries, July 31st, A. D. 1518, to treat with the king of England about a perpetual peace; the marriage of the dauphin and the princess Mary; the restoration of Tournay; and a personal interview between the two kings²⁰⁶. These plenipotentiaries set out with a splendid train of the gayest lords and ladies of France, attended by no fewer than twelve hundred officers, guards, and servants. This expensive cumbersome parade seems to have been designed to gratify the vanity of Henry and his favourite. They were introduced to the king at Greenwich September 23d, and soon after entered upon business with cardinal Wolsey, who had been appointed by Henry his sole commissioner to treat with them²⁰⁷. Sensible that they could expect no success without the cardinal's favour, they began by presenting him with the grant of a pension of 12,000 livres a-year for life, as a compensation for the bishopric of Tournay²⁰⁸. It appears from the strain of this grant, that every thing had been settled before by Wolsey and the French resident, and that the plenipotentiaries had little or nothing to do but to sign the treaties that had been prepared. These were four: 1. A treaty of perpetual peace and amity between the two kings and their successors. 2. A treaty of marriage between the dauphin and the princess Mary. 3. A treaty for the restitution of Tournay to France for 600,000 crowns. 4. A treaty for a personal interview of the two kings, in some neutral place be-

²⁰⁶ Rym. p. 611—619.

²⁰⁷ Hall, f. 65. Rym. p. 608.

²⁰⁸ Rym. p. 610.

tween Calais and Ardres, before the last day of July, A. D. 1519²⁰⁹. By these treaties a solid foundation seemed to be laid of a cordial friendship between the two kings, an intimate union between their families, and a permanent peace between their subjects. But we shall soon see how little we can depend upon the most promising appearances, and most solemn treaties.

A. D. 1518.

Every year brought Wolsey additions to his former power and riches; and Henry seemed to be determined to divest himself of all authority, to bestow it on his favourite. By one warrant, he gave him authority to make as many denizens as he pleased; and by another he gave him power to issue *congés d'elire*, royal assents, restitutions of temporalities to all archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbeys, priories, and all other ecclesiastical benefices in the gift of the crown, without consulting the king²¹⁰. In a word, by one means or other, he got the disposal of almost all the considerable benefices in England, which brought great sums of money into his coffers. The pope gave him the bishoprics of Bath and Wells July 28th, which had been vacated by the deprivation of cardinal Adrian for a plot against his holiness²¹¹. His pension from the king of France hath been already mentioned.

Wolsey increases in power and riches.

The king and court of England spent the beginning of this year in making preparations of all kinds for the approaching interview with the king and court of France, at which Henry proposed

A. D. 1519. Wolsey regulates the interview.

²⁰⁹ Rym. p. 625—631.²¹⁰ Ibid. p. 605.²¹¹ Ibid. p. 610.

A. D. 1519.

to outshine his brother monarch, and make a most dazzling display of his riches and magnificence. His subjects were inflamed with the same vain ambition, in which they were encouraged by the king and cardinal; and several of the nobility contracted debts, which greatly distressed their families. Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, the richest nobleman in England, dropped some expressions reflecting on the cardinal, as the cause of all this ruinous expence, which were not forgotten. Francis seems to have known the characters of Henry and his favourite, and he paid them both a very flattering compliment, by appointing Wolsey his commissioner, January 10th, A. D. 1519, with full powers to settle with the commissioners of the king of England the time, place, and all the other circumstances of the intended interview²¹². Wolsey having received a similar commission from his own master, issued a mandate, by which he regulated all the motions of these two mighty monarchs, their queens, their courts, and attendants of all kinds, in the most authoritative and peremptory manner²¹³. We can hardly blame this man for being proud.

Charles of
Spain
elected
emperor.

In the mean time an event happened which engaged the attention of all Europe, and suspended all other designs. The emperor Maximilian died January 12th, A. D. 1519, and the two powerful kings of France and Spain immediately declared themselves candidates for the imperial crown. Both these princes were rich and powerful, young,

²¹² Rym. p. 610.

²¹³ Ibid. p. 705.

active,

active, and ambitious, and made the most vigorous efforts to gain the glittering prize, by lavishing their money and promises among the electors. The pope earnestly desired to see them both disappointed, and the king of England, or some German prince, elected; but dared not openly to declare against either of them. Henry's ambition was roused, and he sent sir Richard Pace into Germany, to try what could be done among the electors in his favour. But that minister soon acquainted him, that the ground was pre-occupied, and wisely advised him to conceal his ambition and save his money. The conferences of the electors began in June, and on the 28th of that month Charles king of Spain was unanimously chosen, and immediately proclaimed emperor, by the name of Charles V.: a name renowned in the history of modern Europe²¹⁴. Charles was chiefly indebted for his success to the great interest and disinterested patriotism of Frederick, elector of Saxony, to whom the electors, it is said, made an offer of the imperial crown.

The election of Charles was a cruel disappointment to his rival Francis, who had flattered himself with the hopes of success to the very last. He was greatly mortified at the loss of his money, and still more at the preference of a prince younger and less famous than himself, in so public a competition. He now saw more clearly than ever, the necessity of cultivating the friendship of the king of England. With this view he continued to flatter the

Francis
courts
Henry and
his favour-
ite.

²¹⁴ See Doctor Robertson's History of Charles V.

A. D. 1519.

favourite, and paid with great punctuality all the sums of money that were due for the restitution of Tournay, and on other accounts²¹⁵. He also desired the favour of Henry to stand godfather to his second son, and to give him a name. He complied, and gave him his own name. In a word, the two kings, to express their regret for the delay of their interview, occasioned by the death of Maximilian, agreed not to shave their beards till they had seen one another²¹⁶. This proposal probably came from Francis, who was at infinite pains to keep Henry and the cardinal in good humour, and steady to their engagements.

A. D. 1520.
The emperor
arrives in
England.

Though the young emperor Charles V. had triumphed in the competition for the empire, he was not without his disquiets. He met with much opposition in Spain; commotions arose in his German dominions, and he was greatly alarmed at the intended interview of Henry and Francis, which he endeavoured to prevent by his ambassador at the court of England. But the engagements to this interview, he was told, were too strong and too public to be violated; that nothing hostile to him was intended, and that the king would have no objections to an interview with him on a proper occasion. Charles, still uneasy, resolved to pay Henry the compliment of a visit, in his passage from Spain into Germany; and he took the most effectual method to secure a favourable reception, by transmitting to cardinal Wolsey a solemn promise, under his privy seal, dated at Campostella,

²¹⁵ Rym. p. 699. Herbert, p. 34.²¹⁶ Ibid.

A.D. 1520.

March 29th, A. D. 1520, that he would engage the pope to grant him the administration of the bishopric of Badajoz in Castile, worth 5000 ducats a-year, and a pension of 2000 ducats a-year out of the bishopric of Placentia²¹⁷. This promise was punctually performed²¹⁸. The emperor sailed from the Groyne May 20th, and arrived off Dover May 26th. As soon as this news reached Henry, (who was then with his court at Canterbury, in his way to France,) he sent the cardinal to receive him at his landing, and conduct him to the castle of Dover, where he went to see him next morning. The emperor, it is said, endeavoured to dissuade the king from proceeding to his interview with Francis, or at least to prevent him from forming too intimate connexions with that prince. This is probable, but cannot be certainly known. Charles, though he was still young, was already too good a politician to neglect the favourite. On the contrary, he cultivated his friendship with great attention, and no little success. It was on this occasion, as is commonly believed, that the emperor promised him his interest for obtaining the papal throne, on which he had fixed his ambitious eyes, though the reigning pope was a younger man than himself. After conferring some time on business at Dover, Henry conducted the emperor to Canterbury, and introduced him to queen Katharine, his aunt, and to Mary queen-dowager of France, formerly his betrothed bride, with whose appearance he was so much struck that he could

²¹⁷ Rym. p. 714.²¹⁸ Ibid. p. 725.

A. D. 1520.

not conceal his emotions. Having spent two days in banqueting and diversions, the emperor went to Sandwich May 29th, and sailed from thence next morning, as did the king, queen, and court of England the day after from Dover, and arrived at Calais ²¹⁹. This visit of the emperor appears to have been very pleasing to Henry and his favourite; but it gave great uneasiness to the king of France.

Henry and
his court
proceed to
Guînes.

Henry spent three days at Calais, to finish the preparations for the approaching interview, and set out on his way to Guînes June 4th, with his queen, the queen-dowager of France, and all his court. The king, beside all his guards and servants, and all the noblemen and gentlemen of his household, was attended by one cardinal, one archbishop, seven bishops, two dukes, one marquis, eight earls, and eighteen lords, with all their numerous followers, and many knights and gentlemen. The queen, beside all the ladies, officers, and servants of her household, was attended by three bishops, one earl, three lords, thirty-three knights, one duchess, seven countesses, fifteen baronesses, nineteen knights' wives, and many gentlewomen, with all their attendants ²²⁰. The suit, or rather court, of the cardinal was nearly as numerous as that of the king. All the prelates, lords, and ladies vied with one another in the richness of their dresses and number of their followers. In a word, the court of England made a most splendid appearance on this occasion, and exhibited a conspicuous dis-

²¹⁹ Peter Martyr, ep. 669. Hall, f. 72, 73. Herbert, p. 35.

²²⁰ Hall, f. 72. Rym. p. 710—713.

play of the wealth of their country, and the vanity of their king.

A.D. 1520.

Great preparations had been made at Guisnes for the reception of this illustrious company. Two thousand artificers of different kinds had been employed several months in building a magnificent palace of wood near the castle, for the accommodation of the king and queen, with the principal lords and ladies of the court. This palace formed a square, surrounding a court, each side of which was three thousand and twenty-eight feet in length. The walls and roof were adorned, on the outside, with a great number of statues of warriors, in the act of discharging weapons of various kinds. Over the great gateway was a colossal statue of a savage, armed with a bow and arrows, with this inscription below it, "*Cui adhareo præest* :—He to whom I adhere prevails." The inside of the palace was divided into state-rooms and lodging-rooms; the roofs of which were painted, the walls hung with silks or tapestry, the floors covered with Turkey carpets, and all richly furnished. On one side of the great gate was a fountain running with white and red wine and hippocras, with this inscription, "Make merry who will," and a statue of Bacchus on the top. On the other side of the gate was an obelisk, with a statue of Cupid on the top, in the attitude of discharging arrows at those who entered. Contiguous to this palace were built elegant convenient lodges for all the great officers of the household; as the lord chamberlain, lord treasurer, lord steward, the comptroller, and

Splendor
of the
English
court.

A. D. 1520.

board of green cloth: and houses for all the offices; as the ewery, pantry, cellar, buttery, spicery, larder, poultry, pitcher-house, &c. On the plain around the palace were pitched two thousand eight hundred tents, many of them large and magnificent, covered with cloth of gold or silk. All the houses in the town of Guisnes were crowded, and several persons of rank and fortune were forced to lodge in barns, and to sleep on hay or straw²²¹. Beside the great multitude of his own subjects of all ranks, who accompanied the king of England on this occasion, and beside the great number of foreign princes and princesses, and nobility of both sexes, who frequented his court, and were nobly entertained, we are told by an historian who was present, "That during this triumph (which lasted " twenty days) much people of Picardy and " Flanders drew to Guisnes, to see the king of " England and his honour, to whom victuals of " the court were given in plenty, and the conduit " of the gate ran wine always. There were vaga- " bonds, plowmen, labourers, waggoners, and " beggars, that for drunkenness lay in routs and " heaps; so great resort thither came, that both " knights and ladies, that were come to see that " nobleness, were faine to lye in hay and straw, " and held them thereof highly pleased²²²." If to the above were added a description of the dresses of the king, the queen, the ladies, the lords, and knights, in which nothing were seen but silks, velvets, cloth of gold, embroidery, and jewels, we

²²¹ Hall, f. 73, 74.²²² Id. f. 74.

might

might form some idea of the immense expence in which this vain parade involved Henry and his most opulent subjects. "Many of the nobles," says a writer who was a spectator of this glittering scene, "carried their castles, woods, and farms, "on their backs"²²³."

A. D. 1520

The king of France, with his queen and court, as numerous and at least as gay and sparkling as that of England, arrived at Ardres in the beginning of June. Cardinal Wolsey, to whom both kings had given authority to regulate all the circumstances of their interview, went from Guisnes to Ardres June 7th, in all the pomp his riches enabled and his pride prompted him to exhibit, which was such as struck the French with astonishment. Francis, who ardently desired to gain him, received him with the most flattering marks of affection and respect²²⁴. He spent two days in negotiating with the French ministers: but in these negotiations no uncommon cordiality appeared; nothing of importance was concluded, and only a few trifling articles were added to the former treaties²²⁵. Parade and bustle are unfriendly to real business.

Wolsey
treats with
the French
ministers.

When Wolsey published his orders for regulating this famous interview, they appeared to breathe a spirit of mutual diffidence; and if the two monarchs had been the bitterest enemies, greater precautions could not have been taken to prevent the one from taking the other prisoner. Both kings were to be constantly attended by equal

First in-
terview.

²²³ Hall, f. 74.²²⁴ Id. f. 73.²²⁵ Rym. p. 719. 723.

A. D. 1520.

numbers of men in all their motions; equal numbers of both nations were to guard the roads, and search the environs, to prevent ambushes²²⁶. In a word, every thing had rather a hostile than an amicable appearance; and, in fact, emulation and jealousy prevailed more on both sides, than love and friendship. This mutual distrust appeared in a strong light on the day of the first interview. Both kings drew up all their followers in a kind of battle-array; both set out the same moment, at the firing of a cannon, from Guisnes, that was answered by one from Andres. When the French had advanced a little, an alarm arose of some danger; Francis alighted, and remained for some time in suspense, but being encouraged by monsieur Morret, he remounted and proceeded. Soon after, a similar alarm arose among the English; the king halted; but lord Shrewsbury said, "Sir, I have seen the Frenchmen; they be more in fear of you and your subjects than your subjects be of them; wherefore, if I were worthy to give counsel, your grace should march forward."—"So we intend, my lord," said the king. Then the officers of arms cried, "On afore"²²⁷. At last the two kings met; embraced on horseback, then alighted, embraced again, and went arm-in-arm into a tent of cloth of gold, prepared for their reception. There they conversed familiarly, dined together, and then separated for that time²²⁸.

After this, the king of France visited the queen of England in her palace at Guisnes, where he dined, and

²²⁶ Rym. p. 707.²²⁷ Hall, f. 76.²²⁸ Id. *Ibid*.

spent

spent the day in dancing and other amusements, while the king of England acted the same part at Ardres. But all their motions were still regulated by the cumbersome etiquette established by the cardinal. Francis, who earnestly desired to gain the confidence and friendship of his brother monarch, first broke through these embarrassing regulations. He mounted early in the morning, and rode towards Guisnes, attended only by two gentlemen and a page. A body of two hundred English, who were upon guard and knew him, were greatly surprised at his appearance. "Surrender your arms," cried Francis, "and conduct me to my brother." Henry was still in bed. Francis drew open his curtains and awaked him. Nothing could equal his surprise, when he saw the king of France at the side of his bed. "You have gained a victory over me," said he, "my dear brother; I yield myself your prisoner, and plight you my faith." He then presented a chain or collar of great value to Francis, intreating him to wear it for his sake; and Francis taking a bracelet of still greater value from his own arm, tied it about Henry's, with the same request²²⁹. From that time the intercourse between the two kings and their courts became more free and confidential.

Both Henry and Francis delighted and excelled in the martial and manly exercises of those times, and took this opportunity of displaying their courage and skill in arms, as well as their magnificence. Heralds had been sent into all parts, to proclaim

Tilts and
tourna-
ments, &c.

²²⁹ Garnier, Hist. de France, tom. xxiii. p. 296.

the

A.D. 1520.

the challenge of the kings of France and England, as brothers in arms, with fourteen companions, at tilts, tournaments, and barriers; and to invite all valorous knights and gentlemen to come and accept the challenge. These most brilliant feats of arms (which will be more particularly described in another place) began June 11th, and ended June 23d. Francis spent the next day at Guisnes with the queen and court of England; and Henry at Ardres with the queen and court of France. In their return, the two monarchs met, and spent some time in familiar conversation and expressions of mutual esteem and friendship; after which they embraced and took their leave of one another ²³⁰. Thus ended this famous interview, commonly called, *the field of cloth of gold*. It produced no effect of importance, and contributed nothing to increase the amity between the two kings and the two nations, though it contributed not a little to exhaust their wealth ²³¹.

Interview
with the
emperor.

Henry, with his queen and court, returned to Calais June 25th, where the cardinal assembled all

²³⁰ Hall, f. 78—84.

²³¹ The following fact, related by the marshal de Fleuranges, most probably left an unfavourable impression on the mind of Henry: "After the tournaments the French and English wrestlers made their appearance, and wrestled before the kings and the ladies; the English gained the prize. After this the kings retired to a tent and drank together; and the king of England seizing the king of France by the collar, said, "My brother, I must wrestle with you;" and endeavoured to trip up his heels: but the king of France, who is a dextrous wrestler, twisted him round, and threw him on the ground with great violence. The king of England attempted to renew the combat, but was prevented." *Memoires de Fleuranges*, p. 329.

the

the English lords, knights, and gentlemen, thanked them for their honourable attendance on the king, and gave them leave to send home one half of their followers; and at the same time advised them to live warily. An advice which these haughty chieftains took very much amiss³³⁰. Great preparations were made for visiting the emperor at Gravelines, and receiving a visit from him at Calais. Accordingly Henry set out July 10th, with a splendid retinue, and was met by the emperor, and conducted into Gravelines. Charles had given orders to entertain all the English in the most friendly and hospitable manner, to efface any impressions that might have been made upon them in favour of the French at the late interview; and they seem to have been much pleased with their entertainment. Henry returned next day to Calais, accompanied by the emperor, his aunt Margaret, and the imperial court. Henry had caused a stupendous fabric of wood to be erected for their entertainment. It was of a circular form, eight hundred feet in circumference; and the ceiling was painted with a representation of the heavenly bodies: but the roof of it was so much damaged by a storm of wind, that it could not be repaired in time. Three days were spent in a continual round of banqueting, maskings, balls, and other diversions³³¹. But Charles was not so much captivated by these vain amusements as to neglect business. On the contrary, he laboured with so much art and assiduity to gain the favour of Wolsey, and consequently of

³³⁰ Hall, f. 85.³³¹ Id. *ibid*.

his

A. D. 1520.



his master, that he succeeded; and their professions of inviolable friendship to his rival Francis were forgotten. After the departure of the emperor, Henry returned to England, with his queen and court; having squandered, in a short time, an incredible mass of treasure to no purpose.

A. D. 1521.

Buckingham be-
headed.

Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, lord high constable of England, the richest and most powerful nobleman of the kingdom at this time, was lineally descended from Anne, the eldest daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, youngest son of Edward III.; and being a weak, vain, ambitious man, had formed very absurd and criminal projects, which he had not the prudence to conceal. He had offended cardinal Wolsey, by declaiming against him too freely, as the contriver of the late expensive interview; and had made Charles Knevil, to whom he had communicated his projects, his enemy, by dismissing him from the office of his steward. Knevil, either out of resentment, or for fear of being involved in his ruin, discovered all he knew of the duke's designs to the cardinal. On this the duke was apprehended and committed to the Tower April 16th; as were also Knevil, sir Gilbert Parke, his chancellor, John le Court, his confessor, and one Hopkins, a knavish monk, who had deluded him by pretended revelations from Heaven that he should be king of England. The duke was brought to his trial in Westminster-hall, May 13th, before the duke of Norfolk as lord high steward, and eighteen other peers. It appeared from the depositions of the above four witnesses,

Knevil,

Knevil, Parke, Le Court, and Hopkins, that he had fixed his eyes upon the crown, and entertained hopes of obtaining it if the king died without a son: that these hopes were founded on his descent, his great estate, his noble connexions, his numerous retainers, and chiefly on the predictions of the impostor Hopkins: that, to promote his views, he had endeavoured to gain popularity by railing at the king's ministers; and reprobating every measure of government, had laboured to increase the number of his retainers, and even to corrupt the king's servants by bribes. Charles Knevil, who was a gentleman, and nearly related to the duke, declared, that on the 4th of November he had said to him at East Greenwich, "That when the king had reproved him for retaining sir William Bulmer in his service, if he had perceived that he would be sent to the Tower, as he once suspected, he would have requested an audience of the king; and if he had obtained it, he would have run him through the body with his dagger, as his father intended to have done to Richard III. at Salisbury, if he had been admitted into his presence." He was found guilty of high treason by the unanimous vote of his peers, and beheaded on Tower-hill May 17th²²⁴. Such was his haughtiness, that when sentence was pronounced upon him, he declared he would not ask his life of the king. He appears to have been a desperate and dangerous man, who had formed the most pernicious schemes, and was

²²⁴ Stowe, p. 513—515.

capable

A.D. 1528.

War between the emperor and the king of France.

capable of the most criminal actions; and neither the king nor the cardinal could be blamed for bringing him to a trial, and permitting the sentence against him to be executed.

By the league of London, A. D. 1518, between the kings of France and England, into which the pope, the emperor Maximilian, and his son Charles king of Spain were admitted as principals, it was stipulated, that when one of the contracting parties was attacked, the other confederates should first admonish the aggressor to desist, which if he did not within one month, they were to declare themselves his enemies ²³⁵. A war was now become unavoidable between Charles and Francis, two of these confederates. They were both young, powerful, and ambitious; they had various claims upon one another, and each of them had formed schemes which it was the interest of the other to obstruct. In a word, they were equally determined upon war, but neither of them was willing to appear the aggressor. Francis, however, with a view to take advantage of the civil war in Spain, encouraged Henry d'Albert, the expelled king of Navarre; to raise a body of troops in France for the recovery of his kingdom, which Charles was bound by treaty to restore, but refused. He also permitted the earl of Fleuranges to raise a small army, and march to the assistance of his father the prince of Sedan, who had been injured by the emperor, and had sent him a defiance. The emperor

²³⁵ Rym. p. 624—631. Herbert, p. 31.

A. D. 1521.

now called upon the king of England to interpose, and Henry sent an ambassador to admonish Francis to desist from giving aid to the emperor's enemies, contrary to the stipulations in the league of London. With this admonition Francis complied, by commanding Fleuranges to disband his army, that he might not give Henry a pretence of joining with the emperor against him, to which he suspected he was inclined. But this compliance did not prevent a war. Charles sent a powerful army to take vengeance, as he pretended, on the prince of Sedan, which obliged Francis to arm, and the war commenced without any formal declaration, leaving it difficult to determine who had been the aggressor. The flames of war were kindled also in Italy between these two princes, by the duplicity, or rather treachery, of the pope, who, with a view to deceive the king of France, concluded a treaty with him for the conquest of the kingdom of Naples from the emperor, and at the same time, with great secrecy, concluded a contrary treaty with the emperor, for the conquest of the dukedom of Milan from the French, and immediately commenced a war for that purpose ²³⁶.

When the sword was thus drawn, Henry offered his mediation to bring about a peace between these two powerful rivals, which was accepted with pleasure by the emperor, and with hesitation and reluctance by Francis. Henry constituted his favourite cardinal Wolsey his plenipotentiary, with

Henry
mediates
a peace.

²³⁶ Herbert, p. 41, 42. Garnier, tom. xxiii, p. 323—347.

the

A. D. 1521.

the most ample powers²³⁷. It is amusing to observe, that though Henry, by the influence of his favourite, was in the interest of the emperor, yet in the cardinal's commission, the extraordinary affection he had contracted for Francis at the late interview is expressed in the strongest terms that could be invented²³⁸. The negotiations were appointed to be at Calais.

Bulls in
favour of
Wolsey.

Before Wolsey set out for Calais to execute his important commission, he received two bulls from the pope, which clearly evince the extent of his influence. His dignity of legate *a latere* had been continued to him by several bulls, each granting it for two years. In that which he received at this time, the following extraordinary powers were given him—of making fifty counts palatine, fifty knights, fifty chaplains, and fifty notaries—of legitimating bastards, and conferring the degree of doctor in divinity, law, and medicine²³⁹. These favours were granted, to fix him in the interest of the emperor, and probably at the desire of that prince. By another bull, authority was given him to grant licence to such as he thought proper, to read the works of that pestilent heretic Martin Luther, especially to those who desired to read them with a design to write against them. This was intended to pave the way for the appearance of a royal champion for the pope, against the devil and Luther, who had formed a confederacy (as it was said) against his holiness and the church²⁴⁰.

²³⁷ Rym. p. 748—752.²³⁸ Ibid. p. 749.²³⁹ Ibid. p. 741.²⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 739—744.

This

A. D. 1521.

Henry obtains a new title.

This champion was Henry VIII. king of England, who wrote a whole book against Luther, with this title; *De Septem Sacramentis, contra Martinum Lutherum, Heresiarchon, per illustrissimum principem Henricum VIII., &c.* A copy of this book, beautifully written and elegantly bound, was presented by the king's ambassador at Rome to the pope in full consistory, and was received with the most flaming expressions of gratitude to, and admiration of, its royal author. His holiness, to encourage this powerful champion in his cause, who could defend him by his sword as well as by his pen, bestowed upon him and his successors the title of Defender of the Faith, by a bull subscribed by himself and twenty-seven cardinals. This bull was accompanied by a letter from the pope to the king, which exhibits a curious specimen of the grossest flattery. After the most extravagant encomiums on his wisdom, learning, and eloquence; the fervor of his zeal, and the warmth of his charity,—his gravity, gentleness, and meekness,—the order, solidity, and strength of his arguments, his holiness adds, “It is evident that you have been inspired by the Holy Spirit; and that if those against whom you have written had been really men, and not the worst of devils, they must have been converted.” Henry swallowed all this flattery, and was excessively delighted with his new title, which he considered as an acquisition of inestimable value.

241 Rym. p. 756—759.

Vol. XI.

L

Cardinal

A. D. 1522.

Congress
at Calais.

Cardinal Wolsey landed at Calais August 2d, and was received with as much pomp and ceremony as if he had been king of England. The ambassadors of the emperor and the king of France arrived at the same place about the same time, and conferences for a treaty of peace began to be held before the cardinal as mediator. The emperor, who (secure of the assistance of the king of England) did not really desire peace, directed his ambassadors to make demands which he knew would not be granted, and gave them no power to make any abatement of these demands. The French plenipotentiaries were greatly provoked at this haughtiness, at which the cardinal also affected to appear displeased, and told them with much seeming candour, that if he had a personal conference with the emperor, he hoped to prevail upon him to make peace on more moderate terms; and that he was determined to take a journey to Bruges (where the emperor then resided) for that purpose. The French plenipotentiaries remonstrated strongly against this, as inconsistent with that impartiality which it became a mediator to observe, and threatened to break off the conferences and retire. But Wolsey told them plainly, that if they departed from Calais before he returned from Bruges, he would declare them the aggressors in the war, and enemies to peace and to the king of England. That they might not give him a pretence for doing this, they were constrained to remain and await his return.

The

The cardinal fet out from Calais Auguft 12th, attended by the imperial ambaffadors, and a fplendid train of prelates, nobles, knights, and gentlemen. The emperor met him a mile out of Bruges, into which he conducted him in a kind of triumph, and treated him with the moft flattering marks of refpect. He continued thirteen days at the imperial court, and had frequent conferences with the emperor and his minifters. But the object of thefe conferences was, not a treaty of peace between the emperor and the king of France, but a treaty of confederacy between the pope, the emperor, and the king of England, for a war againft that prince. The preliminaries of that treaty were then fettled, which were to be reduced into form, and ratified within three months, and in the mean time to be kept a profound fecret²⁴³. As this treacherous fcheme had been formed before the cardinal left England, he obtained a commiffion from the king July 29th, giving him full power and authority to make treaties and form confederacies with the pope, the emperor, the king of France, or any other king, prince, or ftate, which the king folemnly bound himfelf to confirm and ratify²⁴³. At a great entertainment which the emperor gave the cardinal and his attendants a few days before their departure, one of the imperial minifters flood up and made a moft violent declamation againft the king of France, enumerating all the injuries he had done to the emperor²⁴⁴.

A. D. 1521.

Cardinal
visits the
emperor.²⁴³ Hall, f. 87. Stowe, p. 514. Herbert, p. 43, 44.²⁴³ Rym. p. 750.²⁴⁴ Hall, f. 88.

A.D. 1521.

No formal reply was made to this harangue; but some English knights cried out, "Sir, you have said well; and as God will, all must be." This seems to have been intended to prepare the minds of the English for the scene that was soon to be opened.

The cardinal having finished his business at Bruges, (which was very different from his pretended errand,) returned to Calais August 27th, and resumed the conferences for peace, which he well knew would be unsuccessful. That something, however, might be done at this famous congress, on which the eyes of all Europe were fixed, the cardinal produced a treaty, prepared by himself, to which the plenipotentiaries of both the belligerent powers consented. By this treaty it was stipulated,

1. That no disturbance should be given to the fishermen of any nation.
2. That no ships of any nation should be taken near the coasts, or in the bays, ports, and rivers of England.
3. That satisfaction should be given for any English ships that had been taken.
4. That couriers should be permitted to pass unmolested between the imperial and French courts and Calais.
5. That when the congress broke up, all the members of it, with their retinues, should be permitted to return home in safety²⁴⁵.

Wolfey, in concert with the emperor, having detained the French plenipotentiaries at Calais as long as he could, the congress at last broke up, after it had continued about three months to very little purpose.

²⁴⁵ Rym. p. 753.

The cardinal landed at Dover November 27th, after an absence of almost four months. This long absence was attended with many inconveniences. As he had carried the great seal with him, all who had any business with it were obliged to repair to Calais: and there was no nomination of sheriffs this year. The king had delegated so much power to his favourite, that he had left little to himself, and that little he would not exercise, without consulting his absent oracle by letters, and receiving his advices, or rather directions²⁴⁶. In his capacity of mediator, the cardinal acted a part equally dishonourable and imprudent; by which he destroyed the balance of power between the emperor and the king of France, which it was the interest of the king of England to preserve. He had also affronted his too indulgent master in the most public manner, by placing himself on a level with him, as joint-guarantee of the above-mentioned treaty, which was dictated by himself²⁴⁷. But notwithstanding all this, Henry received him with the strongest marks of friendship. So great an ascendant had this artful man gained over the spirit of the proudest prince in the world.

A. D. 1521.

Incon-
venience of
the cardi-
nal's ab-
sence.

The emperor Charles V. had gained cardinal Wolsey, not only by the great pensions he had settled upon him, but chiefly by the solemn promises he had given him, that he would promote his advancement to the papal throne, with all his power, on the first vacancy. That vacancy happened sooner than either the emperor or Wolsey

A. D. 1522.
Death of
pope Leo
X.

²⁴⁶ Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 27—33.²⁴⁷ Rym. p. 754.

A. D. 1522.

expected. Leo X. though only in the prime of life, was seized with a fever, of which he died December 2d, A. D. 1521. As soon as the news of this event reached England, Henry dispatched doctor Pace, an able negotiator, to Rome, to promote the election of his favourite; and the cardinal put the emperor in mind of his promises. But before doctor Pace arrived at Rome, cardinal Adrian, bishop of Tortosa, who had been preceptor to the emperor, was chosen January 9th, A. D. 1522, by one of those finesses which have not been uncommon in the conclave³⁴⁸. How far cardinal Wolsey was displeased with the conduct of the emperor on this occasion, or how far he had reason to be displeased with it, cannot be discovered; but he exhibited no marks of dissatisfaction with that prince in his public measures.

The emperor arrives in England.

The civil wars in Spain having rendered the emperor's presence there absolutely necessary, he resolved to visit England in his way thither, still further to ingratiate himself with Henry, and to sooth the cardinal on his late disappointment, with fresh promises and additional pensions. This visit had been even stipulated in the preliminary treaty at Bruges, in which also a marriage had been proposed between the emperor and the princess Mary, the king of England's only child, and heiress of his dominions³⁴⁹. The emperor accordingly arrived at Dover May 26th, where he was received by the cardinal, and conducted by easy journies, and with great pomp, to Greenwich, where the

³⁴⁸ Herbert, p. 45.³⁴⁹ Id. p. 44.

court then resided. There he was introduced to the queen, his aunt, and to his young cousin and mistress the princess Mary. Henry seems to have been highly pleased with the honour done him by this visit, and to have exhausted his skill to display his magnificence, and entertain the emperor and his courtiers, with tiltings, tournaments, maskings, pageants, dancings, and all the stately and very expensive diversions of the great in those times²⁵⁰.

A. D. 1542.

Though war had not been declared, hostilities had already commenced between France and England. The English merchants complained loudly that many of their ships had been taken by the French; and in particular, that a whole fleet loaded with wine had been seized at Bourdeaux, and the merchants cast into prison. The English had made reprisals, and Henry commanded all the French and Scots in London to be apprehended and imprisoned. He had also instructed sir Thomas Cheeney, his ambassador at the court of France, to demand satisfaction for all the injuries that had been done to his subjects, and to propose a truce between Francis and the emperor for two years; and if he received a refusal, to denounce war by a herald, who had been sent for that purpose²⁵¹. This was the state of affairs when the emperor arrived in England.

Hostilities
between
France and
England.

On the morning of June 5th, when Henry was arming for a tournament, he received letters from sir Thomas Cheeney, acquainting him that he had obeyed his instructions, and that his proposals

War de-
clared
against
France.

²⁵⁰ Hall, f. 94.

²⁵¹ Id. f. 95.

A. D. 1522.

had been rejected by the king of France ; and that Clarenceaux king at arms, had denounced war against that prince, May 21st,* at Lyons, in the following words : “ Sir, I am charged to tell you, “ the king, my sovereign lord, holdeth you for his “ mortal enemy this day furth, and all your adherents.” To which the French king had replied : “ I looked for this a great while ago ; for sith “ the cardinal was at Bruges I looked for nothing “ else. But you have done your message²⁵².” The king immediately communicated this important intelligence to the emperor, and after a short conference they both proceeded to the tournament.

Treaties.

This news did not interrupt the diversions of the court ; and on the day after it arrived, June 6th, the emperor and the king made their public entry into London with prodigious pomp, and were received by the citizens in their best array, and entertained with a great variety of pageants, and a profusion of Latin verses in their praise²⁵³. The two monarchs spent their time in feasting, hunting, and other diversions, at different places, while their ministers were employed in forming the articles that had been agreed upon at Bruges, and others, into a definitive treaty, which was signed and ratified by the oaths of both princes June 19th, at Windsor. This treaty consisted of twenty-one articles. By the first six articles, all the conditions of the emperor’s marriage with the princess Mary were settled ; both parties binding themselves not

²⁵² Hall, f. 95.²⁵³ Id. f. 96, 97.

to prevent the celebration of it under a penalty of 400,000 crowns. By the other fifteen articles, the plan of their military operations in the war against France was fixed. By one of these last articles (the 13th) it was stipulated, "That both princes appearing before the cardinal of York as judge, in what place he shall choose, shall voluntarily submit to his jurisdiction as legate; and confessing themselves to be bound to observe this treaty, shall require the legate to pronounce the sentence of excommunication against them, if they violate the articles thereof"²⁵⁴. A remarkable stipulation, which sets the power and influence of the cardinal at this time in a very strong light. At the same time the emperor signed an obligation, called *the indemnity*; by which he bound himself "to save king Henry harmless for all the sums of money and pensions which were or should be due to king Henry from Francis, (upon former agreements betwixt them,) and now were or should be withheld by the said Francis, upon denunciation of war against him"²⁵⁵.

A.D. 1522.

The emperor took care to indemnify the cardinal for any loss he might sustain by the war between France and England, of which he had been the author, by granting him an additional pension of 9000 crowns of gold of the sun, yearly, during his life, at London, June 8th²⁵⁶. Besides this, he renewed and redoubled his assurances of promoting his elevation to the papal throne on the

Charles V.
courts the
cardinal,
&c.

²⁵⁴ Herbert, p. 48.

²⁵⁵ Id.

²⁵⁶ Rym. p. 769.

A.D. 1522.

next vacancy, which, from the age and infirmities of pope Adrian, could not be very distant. Charles was too wise to neglect the other English ministers, particularly the earl of Surrey, lord high admiral of England, whom he appointed admiral of all his fleets by a commission dated at London June 8th²⁵⁷. This was a very flattering compliment, not only to the king and the earl, but even to the whole nation. On Corpus Christi-day the emperor was installed as knight of the garter at Windsor; after which both princes took the sacrament, and swore to the faithful performance of their treaties²⁵⁸.

Maritime
expedition.

When Charles V. had spent about six weeks in England, and ingratiated himself with the king, his favourite, and his ministers, he sailed from Southampton, July 6th, with all his fleet, for Spain²⁵⁹. The earl of Surrey, lord high admiral of Spain and England, sailed from the same port about ten days before, with an English fleet of thirty ships, to scour the channel, and secure a free passage to the emperor. Having performed that service, he landed with seven thousand men July 11th, took, plundered, and burned the rich commercial town of Morlaix in Brittany, and returned to his ships the same evening. After this he made several descents upon the coasts, collected much booty, burned many towns and villages, brought his fleet back to England loaded with plunder, and presented himself to the king July 21st²⁶⁰. He

²⁵⁷ Herbert, p. 49.²⁵⁸ Hall, f. 99.²⁵⁹ Id.²⁶⁰ Hall, f. 100.

was most graciously received, as he well deserved, and appointed to command an army which was then raising for the invasion of Picardy.

A.D. 1522.

Loan and benevolence.

The national animosity of the English against France was now roused, and nothing was wanting to a vigorous attack of that kingdom but money, which is justly called the sinews of war. Besides his habitual extravagance, Henry had lately squandered prodigious sums on his interview with the king of France, and his entertainment of the emperor; and his treasury was almost empty. He and his favourite were still unwilling to call a parliament, (the only constitutional method of supplying the wants of a king of England,) but had recourse to other expedients, which have been always unpopular, and seldom effectual. The king demanded a loan of 20,000*l.* from the city of London; which, with some difficulty, he obtained, upon granting an obligation, signed by himself and the cardinal, for the repayment. Loans were also demanded from other cities and towns, and even from many opulent individuals, in proportion to what it was believed they could afford to lend ²⁶¹. About two months after this loan, the king issued commissions to take a survey of the whole kingdom, similar to that which had been taken by William the Conqueror, with a view to demand of the laity the tenth of their moveable goods and rents, and of the clergy (over whom the cardinal's power was absolute) a fourth, as a voluntary aid or benevolence. But this dangerous illegal demand met

²⁶¹ Hall, f. 99.

with

A. D. 1522. with so much opposition, particularly in London, that the cardinal, with all his power and pride, found it necessary to depart from the rigorous exaction of it, and to content himself with what he could obtain by the milder arts of influence and persuasion ²⁶².

**Invasion
of France.**

By these methods considerable sums were collected, and two armies were raised; one in the north, under the earl of Shrewsbury, against the Scots; the other in the south, under the earl of Surrey, against the French. The earl of Surrey, with an army of sixteen thousand men, landed at Calais about the middle of August; and being soon after joined by a body of Spanish and German troops, entered Picardy, desolated the open country and defenceless towns, by burning the houses of the peasants and the castles of the noblesse, and destroying every thing they could not carry away. The only military operation in which they engaged was the siege of Hesden, which they were obliged to raise for want of heavy artillery. After this, the earl dismissed the Spanish and German troops, and conducted his own army back to Calais, with a very great booty ²⁶³. The earl, having put strong garisons into all the towns on the marches, returned to England with the rest of his army, and was very graciously received by the king and cardinal.

**Surrey lord
treasurer.**

Thomas duke of Norfolk, being far advanced in life, resigned the office of lord high treasurer,

²⁶² Hall. f. 102. Stowe, p. 515.

²⁶³ Viz. 14,000 sheep, 14,000 black cattle, 13,000 hogs, 600 mares and horses, besides many prisoners. Hall. f. 103.

which

which he had long held in the late and present reign, into the king's hands; who immediately bestowed it upon his valiant son, the earl of Surrey, lord high admiral of England and Spain, and general of the army; the only English subject who was, at the same time, entrusted with the custody of the treasures, and the command of the forces of the kingdom by sea and land ²⁶⁴.

A. D. 1522.

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The cardinal still continued in high favour, and received frequent additions of power and riches. On the application of the king, the pope granted him the rich bishopric of Durham *in commendam*; and Henry restored the temporalities April 30th, and about the same time gave him the wardship of Edward earl of Derby ²⁶⁵. His revenues at this time could not be much inferior to those of the king, and were certainly superior to those of several other kings.

A. D. 1523.
Favour of
Wolsey.

The money raised by the late loan and benevolence was far from being sufficient to support the war against France and Scotland, into which the cardinal had wantonly plunged his country, to promote his own ambitious views. He was constrained, therefore, to advise the king to call a parliament, which met at the Black-friars, London, April 15th. Doctor Tunstal, bishop of London, instead of the cardinal, opened the parliament with a speech; in which he praised the king (who was present) in the most flattering strains, for his great learning, wisdom, justice, and love of his subjects. He told the two houses, that they were called to

Parliament.

²⁶⁴ Rym. p. 777.²⁶⁵ Id. 783. 782, 789.

reform

A. D. 1523. reform the imperfections of the common law, to correct erroneous judgments, and to make good statutes; but said not one word of a supply, which was the real and only reason of their being called²⁶⁶. Sir Thomas More was chosen speaker of the house of commons; and in his speech to the king was no less lavish of his flattery than the bishop had been²⁶⁷.

Subdy.

It was not long before the demand of a supply was introduced, and in a very uncommon manner. The cardinal proposed to make the demand in the house of commons in person, which occasioned a debate in that house, whether he should be admitted or not, and in what manner. At length, the speaker persuaded the house "to receive him with all his pompe, with his maces, his piliars, his poll-axes, his cross, his hat, and the great seal too²⁶⁸." He entered accordingly, in great state, attended by a train of prelates and noblemen; and, in a long harangue, declaimed vehemently against the king of France, for his ambition, his breach of oaths and treaties, by making war on the king's dearest nephew the emperor, and by sending the duke of Albany into Scotland to excite the Scots to invade England, &c. which had compelled the king to declare war against him: that the expences of this war had been calculated, and amounted to 800,000*l.* which he desired them to raise, by granting the king a fifth of all rents and moveables, to be paid in four years. When the cardinal had finished the

²⁶⁶ Rolls of Parl. 14 Hen. VIII.

²⁶⁷ Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 28.

²⁶⁸ Ibid. p. 29.

harangue,

harangue, a profound silence ensued, which offended him not a little. The speaker then falling on his knees, excused the silence of the house, by saying, that they were abashed at the sight of so noble a personage, which was enough to amaze the wisest and most learned men of the realm. As for himself, except all the members present could put their several thoughts into his head, he was unable to give his grace an answer in so weighty a matter²⁶⁹. The cardinal then retired very much displeased with the house, and particularly with the speaker. After his departure a warm debate took place. Some of the members affirmed, that there was not above 800,000 l. of cash in the kingdom; and if all the money were in the king's hands, no trade could be carried on but by barter. The courtiers advanced many plausible arguments to induce the house to comply with the demand, but could not carry their point at that time. The king was enraged at this opposition, and threatened, it is said, some of the leading members with death, if they did not pass his bill²⁷⁰. The cardinal, anxious about the issue of this affair, went to the house of commons a second time, to reason, as he said, with those who opposed the king's demands. The speaker told him, that they would hear his grace with great humility; but, by the orders of the house, they could reason only among themselves. The cardinal then made a speech, to prove that the kingdom was so rich and flourishing, that the demanded subsidy might be raised with ease, and then retired²⁷¹. This speech

²⁶⁹ Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 30.²⁷⁰ Ibid. p. 35.²⁷¹ Hall, f. r.

rather

A. D. 1523. rather irritated than convinced the opposing members. After long and warm debates, the speaker, by the most earnest entreaties, prevailed on the house to pass the bill, with some slight amendments. The king and his favourite were so much disgusted by the opposition they had met with on this occasion, that no parliament was called for seven years.

Grant of the clergy. The clergy were exempted from the above subsidy; because they had already assessed themselves in convocation at a much higher rate. The clergy of the province of York (who were under the absolute sway of the cardinal) granted the king one half-year of all ecclesiastical revenues in that province, to be paid in five years²⁷². The clergy of the province of Canterbury, in a convocation held in St. Paul's at the same with the parliament, made a similar grant. One reason they give for their liberality is, their gratitude to the king for his most learned and never enough to be praised book, which had quite crushed the Lutheran heresy²⁷³. In this the good men were a little mistaken.

State of France. France was at this time in a most dangerous situation; threatened with great calamities, if not with total ruin. The confederacy formed against it, by the pope, the emperor, the king of England, the Venetians, and all the other states and princes of Italy, seemed more than sufficient to overwhelm it, when it was without a single ally, but the king of Scotland, who was a minor, and possessed little authority over his turbulent nobles. The internal

²⁷² Wilkin. Concil, tom. iii. p. 698.

²⁷³ Ibid. p. 699.

state

state of the kingdom was still more threatening than all its foreign enemies. Francis, by his expensive pleasures, his profuse donations to his favourites, with his wars in Italy and at home, had exhausted all his treasures, and involved himself in great debts. The troops being ill paid and under little discipline, infested the highways, plundered the unhappy peasants, and filled the whole kingdom with distress and discontent. The court was, at the same time, a scene of riot, and of the most violent factions; while a secret and most dangerous conspiracy was formed by a prince of the blood, to betray the king and kingdom to their foreign enemies. Of this conspiracy Francis entertained some suspicions, but was ignorant of its extent and maturity ²⁷⁴.

A. D. 1523.

In this situation of his affairs, Francis was so far from being intimidated, that he was eagerly engaged in preparing for an expedition into Italy, for the recovery of his dominions in that country. "All the world," said he, "have conspired against me, but I fear them not. The emperor hath no money; the English cannot penetrate far into my kingdom; the militia of the Low Countries can do me little harm. I will march into Italy, subdue my enemies there, and return soon enough to recover what I may have lost in France ²⁷⁵." He marched accordingly, at the head of a gallant army; having appointed his mother, Louise of Savoy, regent of the kingdom

Intrepidity
of Francis.²⁷⁴ Garnier, Hist. Fran. ann. 1523. tom. xxiii. xxiv.²⁷⁵ Ibid. tom. xxiii. p. 482.

A D. 1523.

Revolt of
the duke of
Bourbon.

in his absence. But when he arrived at Lyons, the reports of the conspiracy became so alarming, that he halted, and sent forward the greatest part of his troops, under his favourite Bonivet, admiral of France, into Italy. Soon after this, in the beginning of August, a full discovery of the following plot was made by two gentlemen, to whom it had been communicated under an oath of secrecy.

Charles duke of Bourbon, prince of the blood, great chamberlain and constable of France, was the richest and most powerful in that kingdom. He was brave, generous, and popular, but so haughty and vindictive, that he was commonly called *Charles the impatient*. Louise of Savoy, the king's mother, captivated with the charms of his person, got hints conveyed to him, that his addresses to her would not be disagreeable. He rejected the proposal with disdain, accompanied with some severe sarcasms on her gallantries. Enraged at this, she irritated the king against the constable. Whatever he asked, however just, was refused. He was treated in general with such neglect, or rather contempt, that he seldom appeared at court, and became violently discontented. At last a process was commenced against him in the parliament of Paris, by the king and his mother, which threatened him with the loss of many great estates and almost total ruin. On this his resentment became ungovernable, and he determined to be revenged. He found means to communicate his resolution to the emperor and the king of England, and concluded a secret treaty with these two princes, which

A. D. 1523.

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which had for its object the destruction of the royal family of France, and the dismemberment of the French monarchy. By this treaty the constable was to marry Eleanor, queen dowager of Portugal, the emperor's sister; the emperor and the king of England were to invade France from the south and north with two powerful armies, and by an army of mercenaries in another quarter, while Bourbon raised a formidable rebellion in the heart of the kingdom. When the conquest was completed, Provence and Dauphine, with some contiguous territories, were to be erected into a kingdom for Bourbon, and the other provinces divided between the emperor and the king of England. A cruel conspiracy! (for it deserves no better name;) which reflects as little honour on the two monarchs as on Bourbon, who was hurried on by too violent a resentment of real injuries. If this plot had not been discovered before Francis had passed the Alps with his army, (when it was to be put in execution,) the consequences might have been very fatal to France. Bourbon made his escape out of the kingdom in disguise, and joined the imperial army in Italy. Francis resolved to remain at home, to guard against the approaching invasion ²⁷⁶.

Military
operations.

These invasions soon took place, as Henry and the emperor had their forces in readiness to have co-operated with Bourbon on his rebellion. The duke of Suffolk, commander of the English army, landed at Calais August 24th, and with the troops

²⁷⁶ Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 1, &c. Mem. de Bellay, p. 64, &c. Pasquier, p. 431. Rym. p. 794, 795.

A.D. 1523.

he brought from England, and those he collected from the garrisons of Calais, Hams, and Guisnes, formed an army of about thirteen thousand men. He marched September 19th, and the day after joined the imperial forces, and with them invaded Picardy. Meeting with no army to oppose them in the field, they ravaged the open country, took and plundered several towns, passed the rivers Soame and Oyse, and advanced within eleven leagues of Paris, which greatly alarmed the inhabitants of that capital²⁷⁷. But though the combined armies met with no enemy able to give them battle, they had several difficulties to encounter. The duke de Tremeuille, who commanded in those parts, hovered continually near them with a great body of cavalry; beat up their quarters, intercepted their convoys, and harassed them by frequent skirmishes. The season was uncommonly rainy, and the roads almost impracticable. The troops became sickly, discontented, and earnest in their desire to return home. With this desire the commanders complied: the two armies separated on their march, and the duke of Suffolk arrived at Calais in December, with the English forces, very much diminished in their numbers, without retaining possession of one place in the enemy's country. Henry was so much enraged at seeing all his sanguine hopes of conquest blasted, that the duke thought it prudent to remain at Calais till his anger abated. The emperor was equally unsuccessful on his side; and France, which at the be-

²⁷⁷ Hall, f. 114, &c.

ginning

ginning of this campaign was threatened with total ruin, at the end of it had not lost a single town, or one foot of territory.

An. D. 1523.

Henry and his favourite met with another disappointment at this time. Pope Adrian VI. died September 14th. As this event had been expected from the age and infirmities of Adrian, proper instructions had been given to the king's ambassadors at Rome to promote the election of cardinal Wolsey. The first dispatches he received from the ambassadors gave him great hopes of success. In a letter he sent to the king with these dispatches September 29th, he says, "In what train
" the matters there were, at that time, for the elec-
" tion of the future pope, your highness shall per-
" ceive by the letters of your orators, which I send
" at this time, whereby it appeareth, that mine ab-
" sence from thence shall be the only obstacle (if
" any be) of the election of me to that dignity ²⁷⁸." By another letter to the king October 1st, he tells him, that he had prepared instructions for the ambassadors, which he desired his highness to sign; and adds, "To the intent also, that the emperor
" may the more effectually and speedily concur
" with your highness for the furtherance hereof, I
" have devised a familiar letter in the name of
" your grace, to be directed unto his majesty;
" which if it may please your highness to take the
" payne for to write with your own hand, putting
" thereunto your secret sign and mark, being be-
" tween your grace and the said emperor, shall

Pope
elected.

²⁷⁸ Burnet, Hist. Reform. Records, No. VII.

A. D. 1523.

“ undoubtedly do singular benefit and furtherance
 “ to your gracious intent and virtuous purpose in
 “ that behalf ²⁷⁹.”

All this was done, and neither money nor promises were spared; but in vain. Cardinal Julio de Medici was chosen pope November 19th, and took the name of Clement VII. Thus was cardinal Wolsey again disappointed in his hopes of ascending the papal throne. He bore his disappointment with great composure; and whatever resentment he entertained against the emperor, who had not performed his promises, he, like a prudent politician, concealed it till he could discover it with effect. In his letter to the king December 6th, with the news of the election, he makes no mention of the emperor; but ascribes his own disappointment to his absence from Rome, and expresses his satisfaction with the choice that had been made in very strong terms. “ As for my
 “ part,” says he, “ I take God to witness I am
 “ more joyous thereof, than if it had fortuned on
 “ my person ²⁸⁰.” It is not improbable that the cardinal dissembled a little on this occasion, and that he was not quite so well pleased as he pretended.

A. D. 1524.
 Military
 operations

The two late invasions of Picardy had been so expensive and unsuccessful, that nothing of that kind was attempted this year, and the whole campaign in those parts exhibited only a few skirmishes between the garrisons in the English pale and those

²⁷⁹ Burnet, Hist. Reform. Records, No. VIII.

²⁸⁰ Ibid. No. X.

on the frontiers of France ²⁸¹. It is probable, however, that Henry had some other reasons for this inaction, beside the expence and ill-success of the two former invasions; but these reasons cannot be discovered with certainty. The military operations in Italy and the south of France were more important. The Spanish army, commanded by the constable of Castile, invested Fontarabia about the middle of January. This seemed to be a rash, or rather desperate undertaking. The place was strong, furnished with a sufficient garrison, and abundance of ammunition and provisions; but the garrison was ill-chosen. Don Pedro, hereditary marshal of Navarre, was at the head of a strong body of his countrymen, who with him had followed the fortunes of their exiled sovereign, of whose restoration there were now little or no hopes. The constable of Castile, uncle to Don Pedro, got such tempting offers conveyed to him and his followers, that they had not the fortitude to resist. A treaty was privately concluded, by which Don Pedro and all his troops were to be restored to all their honours and estates in Navarre, on the surrender of the place: and they persuaded, or rather compelled, Frauget the governor, to capitulate about the middle of February, when the fortifications were entire, and the garrison in want of nothing. Francis was enraged at the shameful surrender of this important place; and as Don Pedro was out of his reach, all his vengeance fell

²⁸¹ Hall.

A.D. 1524.

upon Frauget, who was proclaimed a coward, and declared infamous and ignoble ²³².

continued.

The duke of Bourbon having contributed greatly in the last campaign to the expulsion of the French under admiral Bonivet out of Italy, proposed to invade Provence this year, in hopes of being joined by many of his own friends and those of his family, as soon as he appeared at the head of an army. This proposal was approved by the emperor and the king of England, who engaged to advance 109,000 crowns, for the first month's pay and subsistence of the duke's army, and to invade Picardy in July; and the emperor engaged to support and pay the duke's army during the rest of the campaign, and to invade Languedoc at the same time ²³³. The duke of Bourbon entered Provence with his army July 2d, and met with little or no opposition. His scheme was to march into those parts where his own estates lay, and where he expected to be joined by his vassals; but the emperor commanded him to besiege Marseilles. He invested that place August 15th; but he met with a more vigorous resistance than he expected. The garrison, which consisted of three thousand two hundred men, being joined by nine thousand of the inhabitants, who took up arms, made a brave defence. Neither the emperor nor the king of England invaded France, which permitted Francis to collect all his forces for the relief of Marseilles; and he marched from Avignon towards

²³² Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 54.²³³ Rym. p. 794, 795.
that

A. D. 1524.

that place, at the head of forty thousand men, which obliged Bourbon to raise the siege, and retire with great precipitation into Italy²⁸⁴. The inaction of the emperor during this campaign may be accounted for from his want of money to support another army. It is more difficult to account for Henry's neglecting to invade Picardy, according to his engagement. It appears from a proclamation preserved by a contemporary historian, that he entertained some thoughts of doing this when the season was too far advanced. That proclamation was dated September 10th, commanding those noblemen and gentlemen to whom it was sent to be in readiness, with their followers, for an expedition into France, but not to march till they received a second command²⁸⁵. That command they never received, owing to the advanced season, and perhaps to some other reasons, which it was not thought proper to publish.

If Francis could have been contented with the honour of having defended his dominions against all his enemies, he would have preserved himself and his subjects from many calamities. But finding himself at the head of a gallant army, he could not resist the inclination of marching into Italy, for the recovery of the duchy of Milan, on which he had set his heart. Having appointed his mother regent of the kingdom, he set out at the head of his army, and proceeded with so much diligence, that a detachment of his troops entered Milan at one gate,

²⁸⁴ Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 94. Bellay, lib. xi.²⁸⁵ Hall, f. 130.

A. D. 1524.



at the same time that the duke of Bourbon entered it at another. The duke, having reinforced the garrison of the castle, retired with the shattered remains of his army to Lodi. If Francis had pursued them, (as his most experienced generals advised him,) they must either have surrendered, or evacuated the country; and he would have obtained possession of the Milanese almost without bloodshed. But his favourite Bonivet, who had more influence with him than all his other generals, was of a different opinion, and advised the siege of Pavia, which was formed in November, and pushed with great vigour. But finding that all his efforts were ineffectual, he converted the siege into a blockade about the end of this year ²⁸⁶.

Henry
changes
his dispo-
sition,


It is easy to perceive that Henry's animosity against Francis, and his attachment to the emperor, now began to abate. This is evident from his neglecting to invade Picardy according to his engagement, when he might have done it with the greatest prospect of success. It is further evident, from his demanding immediate payment of the money Charles had borrowed when he was in England, and of the great sums due by the treaty of Windsor, at a time when he knew he could not pay them ²⁸⁷. This change in Henry's dispositions was probably owing to the artful insinuations of his favourite, cardinal Wolsey. But whatever was the cause of this change, the effects of it were too visible to escape the notice of either Charles or

²⁸⁶ Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 109. Bellay, lib. xi. P. Martyr, ep. 805.

²⁸⁷ Guicciardini, lib. xv.

Francis.

Francis. The former became jealous of his greatly, and the latter began to entertain hopes of a reconciliation with his most formidable adversary. To promote this, the regent sent a private agent, one John Joachim, to London, who was well received by the cardinal, with whom he had several secret interviews²⁸⁸. This being discovered by the papal resident, he sent accounts of it to his master, advising him to make peace with Francis as soon as possible, that he might have the merit of being before the king of England. His holiness took the hint, and concluded a secret treaty of peace with Francis in his camp before Pavia²⁸⁹.

A. D. 1524.


While Francis blockaded Pavia in the beginning of this year, he sent out two large detachments, one of about six thousand men, under the duke of Albany, to invade Naples; and another of nearly the same number, under the marquis of Soluzes, to attempt the recovery of Genoa²⁹⁰. This was a very imprudent measure, by which he encouraged his enemies and weakened his own army. It was further weakened by the departure of 6000 Grisons into their own country, and by some other accidents.

A. D. 1525.
 French
 army
 weakened.

When the imperial generals had recovered from the consternation with which they had been seized, and saw with joy that Francis, instead of pursuing them, had engaged in the siege of Pavia, they exerted themselves with great activity in collecting troops from all quarters, and forming an army. The duke of Bourbon, by pawning his jewels, pro-

Battle of
 Pavia.

²⁸⁸ Hall, f. 135.

²⁸⁹ Herbert, p. 62.

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

cured

A. D. 1525.

cured a sum of money, with which he levied twelve thousand Lansequinets in Germany, and conducted them into Italy. By the beginning of February they thought themselves strong enough to take the field, and on the 7th of that month approached the French camp before Pavia. Their design was to throw a supply of men, ammunition, and provisions into that place, and to hazard a battle rather than suffer it to be taken before their faces. They spent almost three weeks in this situation, without being able to accomplish their design. In the mean time several councils were held in the French camp, and some of his best commanders earnestly entreated Francis to raise the siege, and retire to Milan; assuring him that the enemy's army would be obliged to disband in a short time for want of pay. But admiral Bonivet, knowing the king's inclination, treated this cautious counsel with great contempt, as dastardly and dishonourable, and insisted on continuing the siege, which was resolved. La Noy, viceroy of Naples, the duke of Bourbon, the marquis de Piscaire, and the other imperial generals, finding that it would be impossible to keep the field much longer, for want of money to pay and subsist their troops, determined to hazard a battle. Very early in the morning of February 24th (the emperor's birth-day), they assailed the French camp, forced their lines, and obtained one of the most decisive victories recorded in history. Admiral Bonivet, marshal de Chabanis, Richard de la Pole, a pretender to the crown of England, some other generals, with about fourteen thousand of the French

French army, fell in this fatal action. The king of France, the king of Navarre, several other persons of distinction, and about twelve thousand men, were made prisoners. All the artillery, arms, ammunition, military chest, provisions, and baggage of the vanquished army, fell into the hands of the victors. In a word, the king of France wrote to his mother the day after; "Madam all is lost, except my honour." And this was no great exaggeration. The imperial generals were astonished at the greatness of their victory, which far exceeded their most sanguine expectations ²⁹¹.

It is easier to imagine than describe the consternation into which the news of this dreadful disaster threw the court and kingdom of France. That kingdom was really in a most deplorable situation. Her king a prisoner; her bravest generals and nobles, with the flower of her martial youth, either killed or taken; surrounded with powerful triumphant enemies; without allies; without money, without troops, and almost without hope ²⁹². The consternation of the princes and states of Italy was almost equal to that of the French. They saw the balance of power overturned, and themselves exposed to the demands of a victorious army, which could command what it demanded ²⁹³.

Consternation of the French.

²⁹¹ Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 122—129. Guicciardini, lib. xv. Hall, f. 136.

²⁹² This great calamity was as unexpected as it was great; which should teach the most powerful princes to be cautious of engaging in unnecessary wars. The events of war are always uncertain.

²⁹³ Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 29, &c.

The

A.D. 1525.

Composure of the emperor.

The emperor was at Madrid, expecting every day to hear of the defeat of his army, and the loss of his dominions in Italy, when he received (March 10th) the news of this great victory. Charles, on this occasion, discovered an amazing presence of mind and command of passion. Though he must have felt the most lively transports of joy, on an event so advantageous and unexpected, nothing of that kind appeared in his words or actions. He perused the dispatches with the most perfect composure, lamented the hard fate of his fallen rival, and moralized on the uncertainty of human power and greatness. But it soon became evident that all this was deep dissimulation, and that he felt none of that compassion which he expressed ²⁹⁴.

Ambassadors sent to Spain.

Henry received the news of the battle of Pavia March 9th, by an express from the princess Margaret, governess of the Low Countries. As he was not so accomplished a disssembler as Charles, he did not receive them with the same composure. Public rejoicings were ordered in London and other cities; the king rode in great state to Saint Paul's, where the cardinal said mass, assisted by eleven bishops; after which Te Deum was sung ²⁹⁵. Henry's ambition, which had received a check by the ill-success of his two late invasions of France, again revived, and inclined him to take advantage of the great calamity which had befallen the unfor-

²⁹⁴ Sandov. Hist. vol. i. p. 651. Ulloa, Vita del Carlo V. p. 110.

²⁹⁵ Hall, f. 136.

tunate Francis. This is evident from the instructions given to doctor Tunstall, bishop of London, and sir Richard Wingfield, who were dispatched in great haste into Spain. These ambassadors were instructed to urge the full execution of the treaty of Bruges, between the emperor, the king, and the duke of Bourbon. By one article of that treaty, the two monarchs were to invade France with two powerful armies, the one on the south, and the other on the north; that they should meet at Paris, where Henry should be crowned king of France, and the partition of the kingdom settled. By another article it was stipulated, that if any prince were taken prisoner in the course of the war, he should be delivered to that one of the confederates whose dominions he had usurped. The ambassadors were instructed to require that Francis should be delivered to their master; as he had usurped from him, not only Guienne and Normandy, but even the crown of France. To induce Charles and his council to comply with this requisition, they were empowered to engage, that the princess Mary, their master's only child, and heiress of his dominions, should be sent into Spain, at the same time that Francis was sent into England. This, it was hoped, would prevail; as the emperor's ambassadors were then at the court of England, earnestly soliciting the delivery of the princess to their master, to whom she was betrothed. The ambassadors were also furnished with answers to all the objections it was supposed Charles and his council would

A. D. 1525.

would make to their demands ²⁹⁶. They set out before the end of March, and Henry, who was naturally sanguine in his hopes, certainly expected that his demands, with some modifications, would be granted.

Illegal
commiss-
sions.

To procure money for the intended invasion of France, Henry and his favourite had recourse to a very expeditious, but most unconstitutional method. Toward the end of March commissioners were appointed in every county, to levy the sixth part of the goods of the laity, and the fourth of those of the clergy, to be paid immediately in money or plate. These commissioners in some places were slighted, in others insulted, and in none obeyed; the whole kingdom seemed ripe for rebellion. Alarmed at this universal resistance, the king issued a proclamation, recalling these commissions, and declaring that he would have nothing from his loving subjects but what they chose to give him as a free gift. Commissioners were then appointed to collect a benevolence, as it was very improperly called. But this, though more specious, was no less illegal than the former method, and met with as violent an opposition. The cardinal acted as chief commissioner in London, and employed every art to persuade the wealthy citizens to contribute, but to no purpose; the refusal was obstinate and universal. In Suffolk, the people flew to arms, and with great difficulty were prevailed upon, by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, to disperse. At length, the

²⁹⁶ Hall, f. 137. Carte, vol. iii. p. 137.

king and his council, perceiving that these commissions produced much discontent and danger, but little or no money, recalled them; and the weight of the public indignation fell upon the cardinal, who, it was well known, had the chief direction of all affairs, and had boldly undertaken to furnish the king with money on all occasions ²⁹⁷.

A. D. 1525.

The cold reception of the English ambassadors in Spain.

The English ambassadors met with a very cold reception at the court of Spain, where the victory of Pavia, and the captivity of the king of France, had produced a mighty change. Charles was fully determined to appropriate all the advantages of that victory to himself, and to impart none of them to his ally the king of England, of whose secret negotiations with the regent of France he had received information from his resident in London. All the propositions of his ambassadors therefore were rejected, and they received nothing but reproaches for his violation of the treaty of Bruges, by neglecting to invade Picardy the preceding year, and for his private negotiations with France. The emperor was now so far from desiring the princess Mary to be sent into Spain, that the ambassadors discovered that he was resolved to break his engagements with that princess, though they had been confirmed by a most solemn oath, and was actually negotiating a marriage with the infanta Isabella of Portugal.

This intelligence, which was received toward the end of May, occasioned a total revolution in the politics of the court of England. Henry, whose

Treaties with France.

²⁹⁷ Hall, f. 137—142.

A. D. 1525.

passions were strong, was greatly irritated at the emperor on many accounts, and the cardinal contributed all in his power to inflame his resentment. He now abandoned all thoughts of mounting the throne of France, or dismembering that monarchy; and resolved to exert all his power to preserve it entire, and to procure the deliverance of its captive monarch. Though he dismissed the two French agents who resided privately in London, as soon as he received the news of the battle of Pavia, the regent, very prudently, renewed her application, and gave a commission, dated at Lyons June 9, to John Brenon, president of the parliament of Normandy, and John Joachim, master of the household, to negotiate a peace and alliance with the king of England²⁹⁸. These ambassadors, the same who had been formerly dismissed, were now very well received, and concluded no fewer than six treaties with Henry and his ministers. 1. A treaty of perpetual peace and amity; in which the contracting parties guaranteed each other's dominions against all states and princes in the world, spiritual or temporal²⁹⁹. This was designed to prevent Francis from ceding any of his provinces to procure his liberty³⁰⁰. 2. A treaty, binding Francis and his heirs to pay to Henry and his heirs two millions of crowns, at certain stipulated terms, and 100,000 crowns a-year for life, after the above sum were paid³⁰¹. Nine of the greatest noblemen, and nine

²⁹⁸ Rym. tom. xiv. p. 37.²⁹⁹ Ibid. p. 48.³⁰⁰ In this treaty Henry engaged to use all his influence with the emperor to procure the deliverance of Francis on reasonable terms.³⁰¹ Rym. tom. xiv. p. 58.

A. D. 1525.

of the richest cities in France gave their bonds, as an additional security for these payments. 3. By the third treaty, the king of France engaged to pay to Mary, queen-dowager of France, Henry's sister, all the arrears of her dowry ³⁰². 4. A treaty for preventing depredations at sea, and for settling all disputes on that subject ³⁰³. 5. A treaty explaining on what terms the king of Scots was comprehended in the peace ³⁰⁴. 6. A treaty for preventing the duke of Albany's return into Scotland during the minority of king James V. All these treaties were subscribed by the French plenipotentiaries at the Moore (a house of the king in Hertfordshire) August 30th ³⁰⁵.

In compliance with one of the articles in the first of the above treaties, Henry wrote a letter to the emperor with his own hand, entreating him to grant the king of France his liberty on moderate and equitable terms. But little or no regard was paid to this application; and Charles, who had been accustomed to write to Henry with his own hand, and to subscribe himself his loving son and cousin, returned an answer by his secretary, and subscribed Charles ³⁰⁶. In a word, all friendly intercourse between the courts of England and Spain was at an end, and their ambassadors were mutually recalled.

Henry
writes to
the em-
peror.

The cardinal had contributed greatly to bring about this peace and alliance between France and England, and he was well rewarded for his labour.

The car-
dinal re-
warded.

³⁰² Rym. tom. xiv. p. 69.

³⁰⁵ Ibid. p. 75.

³⁰³ Ibid. p. 70.

³⁰⁶ Guicciardini, lib. xvi.

³⁰⁴ Ibid. p. 74.

A. D. 1525.



The cardinal in
danger.

The regent of France granted him a bond November 18th, for 100,000 crowns, for his good offices in that affair, and for 29,000 crowns, as the arrears of his pension, which had not been paid during the late war³⁰⁷.

That mighty favourite, however, was in some danger, at this time, of incurring the displeasure of his too indulgent master, and falling from that towering height of greatness to which he had attained. The clamours against him for the late illegal commissions, and for various arbitrary and oppressive acts in the exercise of his legantine office, were so loud, that they reached the royal ear, and put the king into a violent passion. But the cardinal knew his temper, and took the most effectual way to appease his anger. He made him a present of the magnificent palace he had built at Hampton-court, and wrote him a letter, containing the best apologies he could make for the several things he knew had displeased the king, and expressing the deepest anguish and distress of mind for having offended his grace. In answer to this, the king wrote him a long letter with his own hand, in which he sustained his apologies in some things, recommended greater caution in others, and concluded with these affectionate expressions: “ I
“ ensure you, (and I pray you think it so,) that
“ there remaineth at this hour no spark of displea-
“ sure towards you in my heart. And thus fare
“ you well, and be no more perplex. Written

³⁰⁷ Rym. tom. xiv. p. 100.

“ with

“ with the hand of your loving sovereign and
 “ friend, HENRY R. ³⁰⁸”

A. D. 1525.

The unfortunate Francis had now remained many months in prison; first in the strong castle of Pizzigithone, near Cremona, and afterwards in the castle of Madrid. Though he panted for liberty with the greatest ardour, the conditions on which it was offered were such as he could not accept without disgrace and ruin. He had offered to give up all claims to Naples, Milan, Genoa, and all other territories in Italy; to relinquish the superiority over Flanders and Artois; to restore the duke of Bourbon and his followers to all their estates and honours; to pay three millions of crowns for his ransom; and, being now a widower, he proposed to marry Eleanora, queen-dowager of Portugal, the emperor's sister. These were tempting offers, but they did not satisfy the avarice and ambition of the conqueror, who insisted on the surrender of Burgundy, which Francis firmly determined not to grant; because it would have given his too powerful adversary such a footing in his kingdom, as would have rendered all he retained precarious. Almost despairing of his deliverance, and irritated beyond measure at the severity with which he was confined; the neglect with which he was treated by the emperor, who had not deigned to pay him the compliment of a visit; the agitation of his spirits impaired his health, and threw him into a fever which threatened his death. The emperor was alarmed at this intel-

Distress of
 the king of
 France.

³⁰⁸ Herbert, p. 67.

A. D. 1525.

ligence, hastened to Madrid, visited his royal prisoner several times, spoke to him in the most soothing and affectionate manner, and gave him the strongest assurances of a speedy deliverance on reasonable terms. This kind treatment revived the spirits and restored the health of the languishing monarch. But, to his unspeakable mortification, when he had recovered his health, he found that the emperor was gone to Toledo, that his confinement was as strict as ever, and all the pleasing prospects of a speedy deliverance vanished³⁰⁹.

Perplexity
of the em-
peror.

While the vanquished prince was suffering thus severely, the victor was not without his cares, perplexities, and fears. In Germany his affairs were in great confusion. The Turks, after they had taken Rhodes, had made some conquests in Hungary, and threatened his hereditary dominions. The reformation had made great progress, and the followers of Luther were become formidable by their numbers, power, and union. The pope, and all the other princes and states of Italy, he knew, dreaded his power, and waited for an opportunity to combine against him. The king of England, his most powerful ally, had deserted him, and embraced the cause of the captive king with his usual warmth. Barbarossa, who from a pirate had become a powerful prince, obstructed the trade, and insulted the coasts of Spain. The regent of France, by her prudence and activity, se-

³⁰⁹ Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 166, &c. Bellay, p. 95. P. Mart. ep. ult. Sandov. p. 665.

conded by the spirit and loyalty of the nobles and people, had put that kingdom in a respectable posture of defence. His own coffers were almost empty, his troops few, ill paid, and widely dispersed. But what filled him with the greatest anxiety, was his fear of losing the person of his royal prisoner, on the possession of which so much depended. He might do this by his death, of which he had lately been in danger, or by his escape, for effectuating which he knew a plot had been formed; and though that plot had been discovered, another might be more successful³¹⁰. His fears on this head were increased by a late event. Henry D'Albert, king of Navarre, who was also taken prisoner at the battle of Pavia, and had been guarded with the most anxious care, had made his escape, by changing clothes with a servant³¹¹. Besides all this, he knew that Francis executed a formal resignation of his crown to the dauphin, and had sent it into France with his sister, the duchess of Alençon, who had visited him in his sickness³¹². If that resignation should be accepted, he would then have a prince, without territories to resign, or money to pay his ransom. All these considerations determined Charles to conclude an agreement with his prisoner without delay; but in doing this, he still resolved (contrary to the advice of his wisest counsellors) to grant him his liberty on the hardest conditions he could extort.

³¹⁰ Herbert, p. 69.³¹¹ Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 130.³¹² Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 195.

A. D. 1526.

The impatience of Francis to obtain his liberty shortened the negotiation; and the famous treaty called *The Concord of Madrid*, was signed and confirmed by the oaths of both parties with great solemnity January 14th, A. D. 1526. This treaty is very voluminous, and consists of many articles; but it will be sufficient to mention a few of the most important, which occasioned those controversies in which the king of England was concerned³¹³.

1. That there shall be a perpetual peace and amity between the emperor and the king of France, their subjects and dominions.
2. That the king of France, within six weeks after he is set at liberty, shall give up to the emperor the duchy of Burgundy, with all its dependencies.
3. For the greater security of the performance of the above article, the king, at the moment he is set at liberty, shall deliver to the emperor his two eldest sons, the dauphin and the duke of Orleans, as hostages; and if he do not, or cannot perform it within four months, he shall return and deliver himself up a prisoner of war, and the hostages shall be set at liberty.
4. To extirpate all roots of future quarrels, Francis relinquishes all right of superiority over Flanders and Artois, and all claims to Naples, Milan, Genoa, and other territories in Italy.
5. Francis engages to marry Eleanor, queen-dowager of Portugal, the emperor's eldest sister, and all the terms of the contract are settled. A marriage is also stipulated between the dauphin and the princess Maria,

³¹³ Rym. tom. xiv. p. 308—326.

daughter

daughter of queen Eleanora. 6. Francis engages to use all his influence with Henry d'Albert, king of Navarre, to relinquish all his rights to that kingdom; and with Charles duke of Guildres, to constitute the emperor heir to his dominions; and if he could not persuade these princes, he was to give them no assistance. A cruel article, which obliged Francis to abandon his most meritorious allies to the insatiable rapacity of their too powerful neighbour. The two next articles were equally cruel. By the one, Francis engaged to lend the emperor his whole navy, five hundred men at arms, and six thousand foot soldiers, when he went into Italy, against those princes who they both knew were forming a confederacy against the emperor in favour of Francis. By the other, Francis engaged to pay to the king of England all those sums of money which the emperor had promised to pay him, to tempt him to embrace his party against France. It is thus expressed in the treaty, which was adding insult to cruelty. By another article, the most effectual securities are given for the restoration of all their estates and honours, with all the intermediate profits, to Bourbon and his followers, who, for certain reasons, had been absent from France for some time past. A very modest way of expressing their rebellion against their natural sovereign and their native country! Several other articles of this famous treaty are so severe and extortionary, that no reader of humanity can peruse them without execrating the grasping unprincipled spirit of Charles who could demand them, and pitying

A. D. 1526.

pitying the weakness and distress of Francis who could grant them³¹⁴. Nothing but his extreme impatience of confinement, and a secret, though not very honourable, resolution not to perform some of its most oppressive articles, could have prevailed upon him to give his consent to such dishonourable and destructive terms.

**King of
France set
at liberty.**

After the conclusion of this treaty, Charles, though he still guarded his prisoner with the most anxious care, loaded him with caresses, carried him several times to visit Eleanora his future queen, gave him always the right hand, called him his dearest brother and most beloved friend, vainly hoping to disarm his resentment and gain his friendship by a few fine words. Francis saw his design, concealed his indignation, and returned all his caresses and compliments with interest. But no two persons ever hated one another more heartily than the two dear brothers³¹⁵. All the regulations for the exchange of Francis for his two sons being settled, with such precautions as discovered the greatest diffidence on both sides, that exchange took place March 16th, in a ship moored in the middle of the river Bedassao, which divides France from Spain, and was executed with such rapidity, that the king had not an opportunity of embracing his children, who were going into captivity for his deliverance³¹⁶.

**Writes to
the king of
England.**

As soon as Francis landed in his own territories, he mounted a Turkish horse, and rode full speed, first to St. John de Luz, and then to Bayonne.

³¹⁴ Rym. tom. xiv. p. 108—126. ³¹⁵ Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 223.

³¹⁶ Herbert, p. 75. Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 226.

There

There he wrote to the king of England, March 17th, the news of his deliverance, which he ascribed to his generous and friendly interposition: and at the same time sent him his bond for the two millions of crowns stipulated by the treaty at the Moore, August 18th, A. D. 1525¹¹⁷.

A. D. 1526

The king of England and the princes and states of Italy were anxious to know whether Francis intended to perform all the articles of the treaty of Madrid, or not. Because, if he really intended to surrender Burgundy, and to perform all the other articles of that treaty, he could not enter into any confederacy with them against the emperor; and no confederacy that they could form without him, would be able to resist the enormous power of that monarch. To discover the French king's intentions, doctor Taylor, the English ambassador at the court of France, was commanded to hasten to the place where that prince should first enter his own dominions; and sir Thomas Cheyney was sent from England to join him there. An abstract of the instructions to these two ambassadors, drawn by cardinal Wolsey, is still preserved, and exhibits a very curious specimen of the cunning and subtilty of that famous minister. The ambassadors are directed to paint in the strongest colours, the high esteem and extraordinary love which their master had contracted for Francis at their interview at Ardres, which no intervening events had been able to diminish—to

Ambassadors sent to Francis.

A. D. 1526.

describe in the most affecting manner, the sorrow he had felt for his captivity, and the joy he had expressed at the news of his deliverance—that he had sent them to offer him all the aid and comfort in his power. They were to do this, not in a formal oration, but in a natural way, as flowing from the heart. They are instructed to be very attentive to every word that dropped from Francis and his ministers about the treaty of Madrid, in order to discover their real sentiments and intentions. If they found them hesitating and undetermined, they were to express the greatest surprise and astonishment at the hardness of the conditions of that treaty—to represent that, when the treaty was executed, the emperor's power would become irresistible. “That they should extend and speak at large, what great honour, profit, and high renown the emperor should attain thereby, if in all parts it were observed. That this would be the ready way to bring him to the monarchy of all Christendom.” If they found that Francis and his ministers were resolved not to execute the treaty in its full extent, but to procure a mitigation of some of the most oppressive articles, they should then propose a treaty of alliance and confederacy for that purpose ³¹⁸.

Assembly
of the no-
tables.

There was no need for all this artifice to discover the intentions of the king of France, or to persuade him to engage in a confederacy against the emperor, to obtain a mitigation of the treaty of Madrid. Before he signed that treaty, he pro-

³¹⁸ Strype's Memorials, vol. i. ch. 5.

tested,

tested, before two notaries, and a few confidential friends sworn to secrecy, that he was under restraint, and that he did not design to perform any of the articles of treaty he was about to sign, but such as were reasonable³¹⁹. A wretched subterfuge, to which he was driven by his unhappy circumstances. When he arrived at Bayonne, and the two Spanish ambassadors who attended him pressed him to ratify the treaty of Madrid, agreeable to an article of that treaty, he refused to do it, pretending he could contract no new engagements without the advice of his council, and the consent of his subjects. He told them, that he would immediately call an assembly of the notables to meet at Cognac, and desired them to attend there to receive his final answer. That assembly met at that place in June, and all the members declared with one voice, that the king had no right to dismember the monarchy, by making a cession of Burgundy, to which they never would give their consent; and that without their consent, it could not be done. The Spanish ambassadors were present in the assembly when that declaration was made, and insisted, that since the king would not, or could not, surrender Burgundy, he should, as he had solemnly sworn to do, return to his prison in Spain. No direct answer was returned to this requisition, but the treaty of confederacy between the pope, the king of France, the Venetians, and the duke of Milan, (which had been concluded with great secrecy a few days before,) was published in their hearing. This amount-

³¹⁹ Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 221, 222.

A. D. 1526. ing to a declaration of war, they demanded passports, and returned to Spain ³²⁰.

Italian
league.

In the above league of confederacy, the allies engaged to raise and pay an army of thirty thousand foot, two hundred and fifty men at arms, and three thousand light horse, with a certain number of ships of war and galleys. The king of France was to have the county of Ast, and lordship of Genoa, with an annuity of 50,000 crowns from Francis Sforza duke of Milan. When the kingdom of Naples was conquered, the pope was to dispose of that crown, and the new king was to pay the king of France an annuity of 75,000 crowns. The king of England was declared protector of this most holy league, and to have a principality in Naples worth 36,000 ducats a-year, and cardinal Wolsey a lordship worth 10,000, for his good offices ³²¹. Though this league was formed directly against the emperor, by one of the articles it was agreed, that he should be admitted into it as a party, on condition that he approved of the arrangements in Italy, desisted from his demand of Burgundy, and consented to restore the children of France for a reasonable ransom. If he refused to comply with these conditions, (which they perfectly well knew he would refuse,) the other confederates bound themselves to assist the king of France in compelling him by force of arms to restore his children. The king of England was invited to become a party in this league, if he pleased; but

³²⁰ Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 232—235.

³²¹ Guicciardini, lib. 16. Belcar. lib. 18.

this

this he very wisely declined, contenting himself with the honour of being its protector, which cost him nothing³²². This league was notified to the emperor by the ambassadors of France and the other confederates. Charles was greatly irritated, and expressed himself with much asperity against the pope and the king of France. He upbraided the pope with his ingratitude to him who had raised him to the papal chair, though he was a bastard. He desired the French ambassador, the archbishop of Bourdeaux, to tell his master, that he behaved basely and dishonourably in violating the treaty of Madrid, and that if he denied it, he would maintain it against him by his person³²³.

A.D. 1526.

Francis publishes a vindication.

Francis, conscious that his conduct needed an apology, sent a vindication of it to all the courts in Europe. This vindication was drawn by Duprat chancellor of France, with great art and eloquence, and rested chiefly on the following grounds: That the emperor had first violated the treaty of Noyon, by retaining the kingdom of Navarre, to which he had no right, and which he had engaged to relinquish—That he had enticed Bourbon and his followers to rebel, and supported them in their rebellion—That he treated him, when he was his prisoner, in a most cruel and ignominious manner—That obligations and oaths, extorted by violence from a prisoner, were not binding—That he had always declared, that if any unreasonable conditions were extorted from him, he would break them when he had obtained his liberty—That it was not in

³²² Herbert. p. 76, 77.

³²³ Id. ib.

his

A. D. 1526. his power to surrender Burgundy; and that he had often told the emperor and his ministers that it was not in his power—That he was willing to pay a great sum of money in lieu of Burgundy, and for the recovery of his dear children³²⁴. To this apology the emperor published a severe and passionate answer, and both princes prepared for deciding this quarrel by sharper weapons than the pen.

Treaty. Though Henry had espoused the cause of the king of France, he was averse to engage in a war, and wished rather to recover his own debt from the emperor, and to assist Francis in recovering his sons, by a negotiation. The two monarchs, with this view, concluded a treaty of mutual obligation August 8th, in which the king of France engaged not to make any treaty with the emperor for the recovery of his sons, without comprehending the king of England, and securing the payment of his debt; and the king of England engaged not to make any treaty with the emperor for obtaining the payment of his debt, without comprehending the king of France, and procuring the deliverance of his sons for a ransom of one million of crowns of gold³²⁵. Both princes, in consequence of this treaty, instructed their ambassadors at the court of Spain, to negotiate with Charles and his ministers, for procuring the deliverance of the children of France, and the payment of the debt due to England³²⁶. In these negotiations the last months of this year were spent.

³²⁴ Herbert, p. 76, 77.

³²⁶ Strype, vol. i. p. 67.

³²⁵ Rym. p. 189.

It is foreign to the subject of this present work, and would be tedious to the reader, to trace all the motions of the imperial and confederate armies in Italy. It is sufficient to say, that the confederate army, though numerous and well-appointed, being commanded by three generals who had equal authority and different views, performed nothing memorable. The duke of Bourbon took the command of the imperial army July 24th, and pushed the siege of the castle of Milan (in which that army was then engaged) with so much spirit, that he compelled Sforza to surrender it by capitulation, which was the most important event in that campaign ¹⁵²⁷.

A. D. 1526.

Military operations in Italy,

But though Bourbon had obtained possession of the whole duchy of Milan, of which the emperor had promised him the investiture, he was in great distress and danger. His army had received little or no pay for several months; he had no money to pay them; and their distress and discontent were become so great, that he dreaded every moment some destructive mutiny. A great reinforcement of sixteen thousand Germans, half naked and half starved, arrived in his camp, which added to his distress and danger, by doubling the demands for money, which he could not answer. The once rich and populous city of Milan, having been long the residence of an army without pay, was become a scene of misery and desolation, from which no more provisions or money could be procured. In this extremity Bourbon acted with great prudence and

A. D. 1527.
continued.

¹⁵²⁷ Guicciardini, l. 17.

A. D. 1527.

spirit. He explained to his soldiers the causes of their sufferings, in which he shared as deeply as any of them. He assured them, that he would lead them into the enemy's country, and would enrich them with the spoils of some of the most opulent cities of Italy. Animated by these hopes, they declared their resolution to follow him wherever he pleased to lead them. He marched from Milan January 20th, A. D. 1527, at the head of twenty-five thousand brave, or rather desperate men, but without money, without artillery, and without ammunition. They had no other means of procuring provisions but by plundering the countries through which they marched. In their destructive course they approached Placentia, Bologna, and Florence, but found all these places so well prepared for their defence, that they dared not attempt them without artillery. Their patience was now quite exhausted; they broke out into a furious mutiny, which Bourbon appeased with much difficulty, by convincing them that their preservation depended upon their union and perseverance, and by promising them, with greater confidence than ever, a speedy period to all their sufferings, and the accomplishment of all his promises. Having obtained a small sum of money, a quantity of ammunition, and three field-pieces, from the duke of Ferrara, Bourbon marched his army directly to Rome, which inspired his troops with the greatest joy, as they there expected the least resistance and the greatest booty. Besides, the Germans in his army were in general Lutherans, who hated the pope as much as they loved his treasures.

treasures. When Bourbon with his army arrived at Rome May 5th, he rode among his troops, crying out, "Behold yonder churches and palaces, the receptacles of the wealth of the christian world; repose yourselves to-night, and to-morrow all that wealth shall be your own." Early in the morning May 6th, the army approached the walls under the cover of a thick fog, and attempted to scale them in three places. But they were every where repulsed, and were in danger of desisting from the attempt. Bourbon, sensible that every thing depended on the success of that assault, alighted from his horse, seized a ladder, placed it against the wall, and began to mount, when he received a shot in the groin, and fell into the ditch. In his last moments, this brave, accomplished, and unfortunate prince desired those about him to cover his body and conceal his death. It could not be concealed; and the report of it inflamed the fury of his troops to madness. With a dreadful shout of Bourbon, blood, and slaughter, they mounted the walls, and rushed into the city like a torrent, spreading death and destruction wherever they appeared. In a moment this devoted city became a scene of inexpressible misery and horror, and its wretched inhabitants suffered every ill that the rage, avarice, and lust of soldiers could inflict. Their misery did not terminate in a day, but continued several months; the churches, palaces, and private houses were stripped of every thing that was valuable, and many crimes were committed too shocking to be recorded¹²⁸.

¹²⁸ Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 269—279. Guicciard. l. 23.

A. D. 1527.

Imprison-
ment of
the pope.

The pope and cardinals fled to the castle of St. Angelo, which saved them from the undistinguishing fury of the soldiers. But that fortress being unprovided for enduring a siege which was unexpected, his holiness was soon reduced to the necessity of capitulating, to prevent his perishing by famine. The terms of the capitulation were dictated by his enemies. He engaged to surrender all the places of strength in his dominions, to pay 400,000 ducats to the besieging army, and to remain a prisoner till all this was performed, and the emperor's pleasure was known ³²⁹.

Hypocrisy
of the
emperor.

The news of the sacking of Rome, and the imprisonment of the pope, excited horror and indignation in the minds of all good catholics in all parts of Europe. None expressed greater surprise and sorrow on this occasion than the emperor. He put himself and all his court into the deepest mourning, forbid the intended rejoicing for the birth of his son, and commanded prayers to be put up in all the churches of Spain for the deliverance of his holiness. A piece of hypocrisy as shallow as it was impious ³³⁰.

Treaties.

The concern of the kings of France and England for the captivity of the pope was more sincere. There had been three treaties concluded between them at London April 30th. 1. A treaty of stricter union and alliance, in which it was agreed that Francis, or his second son the duke of Orleans, should espouse the princess Mary, and that the

³²⁹ Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 269—279. Guicciard. l. 13.

³³⁰ Sandov, vol. i. p. 22. Sleidan, p. 109.

two kings should have a personal interview as soon as preliminaries could be settled. 2. A treaty of perpetual peace, the chief article of which was, that to remove all grounds of wars and quarrels, Henry renounced for himself and his successors his title to the crown of France, and to all the territories possessed by Francis; and that Francis and his successors should pay to Henry and his successors 50,000 crowns a-year in coin, and 15,000 crowns worth of the salt of Bruage a-year, for ever. 3. A treaty of offensive war, in which the two kings agreed to send ambassadors to the emperor, with their ultimate proposals, for the redemption of the children of France, and the payment of the debt due to England; and if the emperor rejected these proposals, two heralds were to denounce war against him, each in the name of his own king. By this treaty too it was agreed that the war should be chiefly pushed in the Low Countries, and all things respecting the numbers of troops to be furnished by each king, and the division of their conquests, were settled³³¹. But the unfortunate turn of affairs in Italy required new counsels, and it now became necessary to make their first and greatest efforts in that country, to prevent their confederates from deserting the common cause. With this view they made another treaty May 29th, in which they agreed to make Italy the seat of the war, and Francis engaged to send an army of thirty thousand foot and one thousand horse to join the confederate army there; while Henry obliged himself to pay 32,222

³³¹ Rym. tom. xiv. p. 202—227. Herbert, p. 80, 81.

A.D. 1527.

crowns-a-month for six months, in lieu of the forces he was to have furnished by treaty for the war in the Low Countries³³². In consequence of an article in one of the above treaties, sir Francis Pointz was appointed ambassador to make the concerted propositions to the emperor, and set out for Spain by way of France May 10th, with Clarenceaux king at arms in his company³³³.

The cardinal's embassy to France.

As the proposed interview between the two kings would have occasioned too long a delay and too much expence, it was thought better to send the cardinal with unlimited powers to settle all things with Francis, who agreed to meet him at Amiens. This pompous plenipotentiary passed through London in a kind of procession July 3d, attended by many persons of rank, with a retinue of twelve hundred horse. He arrived at Calais on the 11th, and set out from thence on the 22d. He was met on the frontiers of France by the cardinal of Lorraine, with a splendid train of prelates, lords, and gentlemen, and received into every town with processions, pageants, and all the honours that could have been paid to the greatest monarch³³⁴. Still further to gratify the vanity of this haughty priest, Francis granted him a power to set all prisoners at liberty in every town through which he passed³³⁵. Proceeding by slow journies, he arrived at Abbeville July 25th, and there spent about a week.

The emperor's offers rejected.

While the cardinal remained at Abbeville he received the emperor's answer to certain propositions

³³² Heibert, p. 83.

³³³ Ibid.

³³⁴ Hall, f. 161, 162.

³³⁵ Rymer, p. 207.

that

that had been presented to him by Francis. The propositions were these four: 1. That Sforza duke of Milan should be restored to his dominions. 2. That Francis would pay the emperor two millions of crowns in lieu of Burgundy, on which he should receive his sons and his queen Eleanora. 3. That Francis would pay the debts which the emperor owed to the king of England. 4. It was proposed, that the emperor should make some addition to the dowry of queen Eleanora, in consideration of the great sums he was to receive. The emperor's answer consisted of eight declarations, chiefly explanatory of the sense in which he understood and accepted the propositions, with some slight alterations³¹⁶. The emperor subjoined to these declarations very strong expressions of his regard for cardinal Wolsey, "who (he said) had always been, and still was, one of his best friends." Though he knew him to be his most inveterate enemy. He expressed, in much stronger terms, the great affection and love he bore to his dearest uncle the king of England, for whose sake alone he had made the above concessions, and at whose request he was ready to make other concessions, that all the world might know that he esteemed and loved him, and valued his friendship more than that of other princes³¹⁷. The design of all this flattery of Henry and his favourite is obvious. As both Henry and Francis were resolved on war, the emperor's proposals were rejected.

³¹⁶ Rym. p. 200.³¹⁷ Ibid.

A. D. 1557.

Treaties.

The king of France with his whole court arrived at Amiens August 3d, and the cardinal made his public entry into that city the day after, with prodigious pomp³¹⁸. There he continued fourteen days, transacting business with Francis and his ministers, and three treaties were concluded August 18th. By the first of these treaties it was agreed, that the duke of Orleans should espouse the princess Mary—that the interview between the two kings should be put off to a more convenient season—and the sums of money to be paid monthly by the king of England, for defraying the expences of the war in Italy, and for the deliverance of the pope, were settled. This treaty was intended to confirm and explain the treaties made in the months of April and May. By the second treaty it was agreed, that whatever privileges the English merchants should lose in the dominions of the emperor in consequence of the approaching war, they should enjoy similar privileges in the dominions of the king of France during the continuance of that war. By the third treaty, the two contracting princes endeavoured to guard against the inconveniences they and their subjects might suffer by the captivity of the pope, when he was entirely in the power of the emperor. In order to this, it was agreed, that if the emperor, or the pope during his captivity, called a general council, neither of the kings should obey the call without the consent of the other. It was further stipulated, that if the pope, while he was a prisoner, issued any bulls pre-

³¹⁸ Hall, f. 162.

A.D. 1527.

judicial to them or their subjects, they should disregard them ; and that in the mean time the church of England should be governed by the cardinal legate, and the Gallican church by the prelates of that kingdom ³³⁹. These treaties were ratified with great solemnity, and delivered by the king to the cardinal at high mass, in the great church of Amiens ³⁴⁰. The cardinal having finished his business, and spent some time in a progress with the court of France, returned to England and waited on the king, by whom he was most graciously received, at Richmond, September 29th.

In the mean time the English plenipotentiary, sir Francis Pointz, had reached the court of Spain, and having obtained an audience of the emperor, made the following demand in the name of the king his master:—That the emperor should deliver to the king one half of the spoils and prisoners taken at the battle of Pavia, as he had contributed to the pay of the army which had taken those spoils and prisoners:—that he should give up the duke of Orleans, one of the sons of France, to the king:—that he should immediately repay all the sums of money the king had lent him, with the addition of 400,000 crowns which he had forfeited by violating his contract of marriage with the princess Mary;—and that he should restore the pope to his liberty, and indemnify him and his subjects for all the losses they had sustained ³⁴¹. The emperor acted with his usual caution and prudence on this occasion:

³³⁹ Rym. p. 203—218.

³⁴⁰ Hall, f. 162.

³⁴¹ Hall, f. 163, Herbert, p. 86.

He

A. D. 1527.

He saw plainly that these demands were not made from any expectation that they would be granted, but only to procure a pretence for declaring war against him if they were rejected. He replied therefore with great calmness, That these were matters of great importance; that he would deliberate upon them with his council, and then return an answer. A few days after, the English ambassador, with the bishop of Worcester and doctor Lee, the English residents, had a second audience, when the emperor acquainted them, that he had resolved to communicate his sentiments on their demands to his dear uncle, by his ambassador at the court of England, and begged them, to wait with patience till he got a return from thence, and then they should receive his final answer³⁴². By this means he prevented an immediate declaration of war, for which he was not prepared, and gained time to make fresh efforts to detach the king of England from an intimate union with France. But the invincible animosity of the cardinal against him prevented the success of these efforts.

The pope
at liberty.

The emperor, perceiving that the captivity of the pope gave great offence to all good catholics, and furnished the kings of France and England with a plausible pretence for declaring war against him, determined to set him at liberty. The rapid progress also of the confederate army in Italy, which was now marching towards Rome, made him hasten to execute that resolution. As he had pretended great sorrow for the captivity of his holiness,

so he now pretended (with equal dissimulation) great disinterestedness in giving him his liberty. He demanded, he said, no ransom for his person; but as the army that had reduced him to captivity was turbulent and ungovernable, and had great arrears of pay due to them, it was necessary to procure money to discharge these arrears, to prevent their breaking out into some dreadful mutiny. He sent orders to Moncado, his minister at Rome, to alarm the fears of his holiness, to make him impatient for his liberty, and to extort from him as much money and as advantageous conditions as possible. Moncado acted his part perfectly well, and concluded a treaty with his holiness for his liberty on the following terms:—That he should never take part against the emperor in Italy:—that he should pay immediately 100,000 crowns for the use of the army; the same sum a fortnight after, and 150,000 at the end of three months:—that he should grant the emperor a crusado in all his dominions, and the tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues in Spain;—and that he should deliver certain cardinals as hostages, and certain strong towns as a security, for the performance of these conditions²⁴². The pope paid the first moiety of the money, delivered the hostages and towns, and was to have been set at liberty December 10th; but dreading that he would be detained on some pretence or other, he made his escape in disguise the evening before, and took shelter in Orvieto. From thence he immediately wrote to the king of England and

²⁴² Guicciard. lib. xviii, p. 467.

A. D. 1527.

to cardinal Wolsey, acknowledging that he owed his liberty to their powerful interposition, expressing the most lively gratitude, and imploring the continuance of their protection.

Divorce.

Beside Henry's strong attachment to the church of Rome, of which he had been the champion, both by his sword and pen, he had another motive which induced him to espouse the cause of the imprisoned pope with warmth. He had formed a resolution to procure a divorce, if possible, from his queen, Catherine of Spain, the emperor's aunt; and he well knew that nothing could contribute so much to the success of that design as the favour of his holiness. As this divorce engaged almost the whole attention of Henry and his ministers for several years, and produced effects of the greatest importance and altogether unexpected, it is necessary to trace the proceedings in it from year to year with the most anxious care and laborious investigation.

The time
and the
motives.

It is impossible to discover, with absolute certainty, the precise time when Henry resolved to procure a divorce from his queen, or the motives which determined him to form that resolution. It is however highly probable, that he had formed it a considerable time before he made it public, and that the motives by which he was influenced were neither criminal nor dishonourable. Great doubts concerning the legality of his marriage with his brother's widow were generally entertained as soon as it was proposed. His father, Henry VII., who, prompted by his predominant passion, avarice, had formed the scheme and promoted the contract of that

A. D. 1527.

that uncommon marriage, was afterwards convinced of its illegality, and endeavoured to prevent its accomplishment. With this view he persuaded his son to protest against the contract of his marriage on the very day he was fourteen years of age, and on his death-bed he charged him with great earnestness never to celebrate that marriage ³⁴⁴. Warham archbishop of Canterbury, a man greatly esteemed for his learning and integrity, declared loudly against the celebration of the marriage (when it was debated in council) as incestuous, and contrary to the law of God, with which, he said, the pope could not dispense ³⁴⁵. Though Henry's amorous disposition, the charms of the princess, and the persuasions of his counsellors, made him disregard the dying admonitions of his father, and the strong declarations of the primate, yet they could not fail to make an impression upon his mind, which could not be quite forgotten, and would be easily revived. While the queen retained her beauty, continued to bear children, and gave him hopes of a son or sons to succeed him on the throne, his scruples, it is probable, gave him little trouble; but when her beauty faded, infirmities succeeded, and all hopes of issue vanished, he became uneasy; his doubts about the legality of his marriage revived; the dread of leaving a disputable succession increased; and he began to think of a divorce, as the only thing that could relieve him from all these embarrassments. All

³⁴⁴ Morison's *Apomaxis*, p. 23.

³⁴⁵ Burnet's *Hist. Reform.* vol. i. p. 36. and *Collection of Records*, p. 10.

this

A. D. 1527.

this happened in the year 1524: for it was in that year, as we learn from a letter of his own to Simon Grinius, that he began to abstain from all conjugal intercourse with the queen, from scruples which he then entertained about the legality of his marriage³⁴⁶. It was in that year, therefore, it is highly probable, that he began to entertain thoughts of a divorce, influenced by the following motives: his scruples about the legality of his marriage; his dread of leaving a disputable succession; and his desires and hopes of having male issue by a lawful marriage. The advanced age and infirmities of the queen might give additional weight to these motives, and make the thoughts of a separation from her less painful; but there is no evidence, or even probability, that he had then set his affections on any other lady.

Henry
fully con-
vinced of
the illegality of his
marriage.

Though Henry began so early to be disquieted with doubts about the legality of his marriage, it seems to have been a considerable time before he was fully convinced that it was unlawful. Pope Julius II. had granted a dispensation for it, and he had a very high opinion of the papal power, to which he was unwilling to set any bounds. Having a taste for theological studies, he applied with great ardour to the study of this question, in which he was so deeply interested. He even composed a book upon the subject, to prove, first, that the marriage of a brother's widow was prohibited by the law of God; and, secondly, that the pope had not power to dispense with the laws of God; and

³⁴⁶ Burnet, vol. i. p. 38.

confe-

consequently, that his marriage with his brother's widow was unlawful. He proved the first by two laws in Leviticus, and considered the death of his two sons by the queen as the effect of the threatening in one of these laws, that such marriages should be childless ¹⁴⁷. The second may seem to us a self-evident proposition that needed no proof; but such was the infatuation and bigotry of those times, that it was esteemed by many a most pestilent heresy to set any bounds to the power of the pope in granting pardons and dispensations. Fox, bishop of Winchester, threatened to accuse archbishop Warham of heresy, for denying the pope's power to dispense with the laws of God. But Thomas Aquinas having declared in the most explicit terms, supported by the strongest reasons, against the pope's power of dispensing with the divine laws, Henry embraced the opinion of his favourite author, and became fully convinced that his marriage was unlawful, and resolutely determined to procure the dissolution of it by a divorce ¹⁴⁸. In this opinion and determination he was confirmed by his favourite Wolsey, his confessor Longland bishop of Lincoln, and other men of learning.

Though Henry had abstained from all conjugal intercourse with the queen for a considerable time, he still continued to treat her with the greatest attention and respect, and to keep his intention of suing for a divorce as secret as possible. But his resolution being now taken, and his plan of pro-

His intention disclosed.

¹⁴⁷ Leviticus, chap. xviii. 16, xx. 21.

¹⁴⁸ Strype, b. i. ch. x. p. 93, &c. Burnet, vol. i. p. 38.

ceeding

A. D. 1527.

ceeding formed, he began to disclose his design with great art and caution. The bishop of Tarbe, and other French ambassadors, who were at London in March this year negotiating a marriage between the princess Mary and the duke of Orleans, started this objection, that the legitimacy of the princess might be called in question, on account of the illegality of her father's marriage with his brother's widow, which might obstruct her succession to the crown³⁴⁹. Both the king and Wolsey affected to appear greatly alarmed at this objection; though it is highly probable, if not absolutely certain, that it was made in consequence of a concert between the courts of France and England, to furnish Henry with a fair pretence for beginning his process and demanding a divorce. The French, at that time, courted Henry's friendship with the greatest ardour, as the only thing that could preserve their monarchy from destruction, or deliver their king from captivity. In these circumstances, it is not credible that the ambassadors would have started an objection that so nearly affected the honour, peace, and happiness of the royal family, if they had not known that it was agreeable to the king, and a part of his plan.

Secretary
sent to
Rome.

After some fruitless attempts had been made to persuade the queen to consent to a divorce, the king's secretary, doctor Knight, was sent to Rome in July this year, to make application to the pope, who was believed to be the only person who had power to grant what was so much desired. He car-

³⁴⁹ Hall, f. 55. Heylin, p. 3.

A. D. 1527.

ried with him letters from the king and the cardinal to the pope, representing the many great services they had done to his holiness and the see of Rome; painting in the strongest colours the king's distress, occasioned by the scruples he entertained about the unlawfulness of his marriage, or rather by his full conviction that it was unlawful; and entreating his holiness, in the most earnest manner, to examine this important cause without delay, and grant that relief which justice required. The cardinal, in his letter, conjured the pope in so earnest and pathetic a strain to grant what the king desired, that he seems to have foreseen that the continuance of his own power and favour depended on the success of that design³⁵⁰. They knew the court of Rome too well, to depend entirely on their letters, and the goodness of the cause, for success. The secretary carried with him a large sum of money, and bills on the bank of Venice for 10,000 crowns; and if the arts of corruption were not sufficiently understood, they might be learned from the directions that were given by the cardinal for the disposal of that money³⁵¹. Doctor Knight was also directed to communicate all his letters and instructions to sir Gregory Cassali, the king's resident at Rome, and to act in concert with him in all things.

When the secretary arrived at Rome the pope was still a prisoner; but having consulted with Cassali, they found means, by bribing some of his guards, to communicate their business and the

Applies to
the pope.

³⁵⁰ Strype, vol. i. p. 83. Burnet's Records, b. ii. No. iv.

³⁵¹ Burnet's Records, b. ii. No. ix.

A.D. 1527.

king's requisitions to his holiness, and received a most favourable answer. The pope professed the most lively gratitude to the king for all his former favours, and declared, that he depended upon him alone for the recovery of his liberty; and that when he recovered it, he would deny him nothing; but that he could do nothing while he was a prisoner that would be esteemed legal.

The negotiations.

The English ambassadors concealed themselves with the greatest care, for fear of being discovered and insulted by the Spanish soldiers, while the pope remained in prison: but as soon as he made his escape, they flew to Orvieto, and renewed their solicitations. They found his holiness still in great terror of the imperial army; and he further informed them, that when he was in prison, the general of the observants had charged him, in the emperor's name, to take no step in their king's divorce till he had first communicated it to his ministers at Rome. The secretary, doctor Knight, had brought with him copies of the four following instruments, which he and Cassali most earnestly entreated his holiness to grant:

1. A commission to two cardinals, for hearing and determining the cause in England, whereof cardinal Wolsey to be one.

2. A decretal, wherein the pope should pronounce the marriage void, upon proof of carnal knowledge between prince Arthur and Katharine.

3. A dispensation for the king to marry another.

4. A pol-

4. A pollicitation that the pope would not revoke any of these acts³⁵².

A. D. 1527.

After several audiences, in which they endeavoured to convince the pope of the illegality of the marriage, and to persuade him to grant these acts; and after they had gained the cardinal, with whom he consulted, by a present of 4000 crowns; they obtained two of the acts, the commission and dispensation, but considerably changed from the draughts they had presented³⁵³. Secretary Knight being afflicted with the gout, sent them to England by Gambarra the papal prothonotary, and followed him by slow journeys, leaving Cassali to continue his solicitations.

As soon as Henry had determined to be divorced from his queen, he began to look around him for another lady to supply her place. Cardinal Wolsey, it is said, recommended Margaret duchess-dowager of Alençon, the French king's sister, with a view to render the union of these two monarchs more perfect and permanent. But a young lady appeared in the court of England this year, who made a sudden and complete conquest of the king's heart, by the charms of her person and conversation. This was the fair unfortunate Anne Boleyn, daughter of sir Thomas Boleyn by a sister of the duke of Norfolk, and nearly related to many of the greatest families in England. She was born A. D. 1507, and was carried into France A. D. 1515, when she was only in her ninth year, by the king's sister, the

Anne
Boleyn.

³⁵² Strype, vol. i. p. 89.

³⁵³ Burnet, vol. i. b. ii. Records, No. iv. v.

A. D. 1527.

princess Mary, when she was married to Louis XII., on whom she attended till that princess returned to England, after the death of her husband. Though she was still very young, her person and manners were so pleasing, that she was retained by queen Claude, the first consort to Francis I.; and after the death of that amiable and virtuous queen July 1524, she lived with Margaret duchess of Alençon till she was brought into England by her father, when he returned from his embassy in France A. D. 1527, and soon after admitted one of the maids of honour to the queen. It was in this situation the king had an opportunity of seeing her, and sometimes engaging her in conversation; and he was so much charmed by her beauty, her virtue, her vivacity, her easy and sprightly manners, that he resolved to raise her to the throne, and became more impatient for obtaining a divorce³⁵⁴.

A. D. 1528.
Embassy to
the pope.

When the commission and dispensation above mentioned were brought into England by Gambara, they were found to be so defective, that it was thought dangerous to proceed upon them; and it was resolved to send ambassadors to Rome to obtain more ample powers. Doctor Stephen Gardiner, the cardinal's secretary, and doctor Edward Fox, the king's almoner, two of the most learned men in England, were pitched upon for this embassy, and prodigious pains were taken to furnish them with every thing that could contribute to render their negotiations successful. These ambassadors set out from London 10th February,

and carried with them the draught of a commission to cardinal Wolsey and another cardinal, to try this great cause in England; in which every clause was inserted that could render it effectual, and prevent the advocacy of the cause to Rome; together with letters from the king and the cardinal, containing every argument and motive that could be conceived to engage his holiness to grant the commission. The cardinal's letter was written with as much earnestness and importunity as if his life had been at stake. As Henry was vain of his learning, and fond of literary fame, he composed a book to prove the illegality of his marriage, which he delivered to the ambassadors to be presented to the pope; and, which was of more consequence, he entrusted them with a great sum of money, to be distributed in the court of Rome. The ambassadors, according to their instructions, went first to the court of France, and procured letters from that king, importuning the pope to grant the request of the king of England; and after a fatiguing journey, they arrived at Orvieto March 20th, A. D. 1528³³⁵.

Though the war was still carried on in Italy, the plenipotentiaries of France and England continued their negotiations at the court of Spain for obtaining a peace, and the mitigation of some of the articles of the treaty of Madrid. But about the beginning of this year all hopes of peace vanished; the two kings recalled their ambassadors,

Declara-
tion of
war.

³³⁵ Strype, vol. i. p. 90, &c. Burnet, vol. i. p. 51, 52. Records, *ibid.* No. xi.

A. D. 1528.

and declared war in form against the emperor, by their respective heralds, January 22d, A. D. 1528³⁵⁶. Charles, in his answer to the English herald, spoke in respectful terms of his royal master, and regretted the loss of his friendship, which he imputed to the resentment of cardinal Wolsey, who was offended with him because he had refused to make him pope by force of arms. In his speech to the French herald he expressed himself with great asperity against Francis; declaring that he had violated his most solemn oaths, and acted in a manner unbecoming a gentleman. This produced a challenge to single combat from Francis, which was accepted by Charles, and made a mighty noise for some time, but at length came to nothing³⁵⁷.

Duplicity
of the
cardinal.

When the emperor's ambassador received the news of this declaration of war, he prepared for his departure; but he was detained by Wolsey, who wrote him a letter, assuring him that the herald had exceeded his powers, and that he should be punished for it on his return. The herald obtained an authentic copy of this letter, which he laid before the king, together with three letters in the cardinal's own hand, commanding him to declare war. Henry was so much enraged at the duplicity and presumption of his favourite, that it was with great difficulty he was appeased; and it is probable that the impression it made upon his mind was never entirely effaced³⁵⁸.

³⁵⁶ Rym. tom. xiv. p. 200. Herbert, p. 85. Guicciard. p. 471.

³⁵⁷ Memoires de Bellay, tom. i. p. 103. Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 330, &c.

³⁵⁸ Hall, f. 171. 173. Herbert, p. 99.

If this war had been prosecuted with vigour, according to the plan proposed, of invading Flanders by a French army on one side, and an English army on the other, it would have involved the emperor in great perplexity. But it was exceedingly unpopular in England, and almost the whole nation exclaimed against it, and against the cardinal, the author of it, who, they said, sacrificed the peace and prosperity of his country to gratify his own resentment. Beside this, the king's attention was so entirely engrossed by the affair of his divorce, that he listened with pleasure to some pacific proposals that were made to him by Margaret governess of the Low Countries, and a truce for eight months was concluded June 8th, to which the king of France acceded with great reluctance June 24th ³⁵⁹.

A. D. 1528.
Truce.

When the English ambassadors, Gardiner and Fox, were admitted to an audience of the pope at Orvieto, March 23d, they found him ill accommodated, ill attended, and in great dread of the imperial army. Having delivered the king's letters and the cardinal's, he read then, and then broke out into the strongest expressions of gratitude to the king, and of his earnest desire to oblige him. They then presented the king's book, and entered into a long conversation on the object of their embassy; in which they removed some unfavourable impressions the pope had received of the lady Anne Boleyn, and of the sincerity of the cardinal in his desire of the divorce. At last they produced the

Negotiation.

³⁵⁹ Rym. tom. xiv. p. 258, &c.

A. D. 1528.

copy of the commission to cardinal Wolsey, and another cardinal to be named by the pope, which they most earnestly entreated him to grant, and recommended cardinal Campegius, as the properest person to be joined with Wolsey; leaving the commission with him for his consideration³⁶⁰.

continued.

Argu-
ments of
the am-
bassadors.

The English ambassadors had several other long conferences with the pope, in the presence of the cardinals and other learned men; in which they entered upon the merits of the king's cause, the illegality of his marriage, the insufficiency of the dispensation of Julius II. to render it lawful, and the necessity of granting the commission in the form required. In the preamble of that commission it was gently hinted, that some people denied that the pope had power to dispense with the laws of God: but they soon found that this was a topic not to be insisted upon; for though Clement was much dispirited by his late captivity and his present distress, he still retained so much of the spirit of his predecessors, that he would hear no reasoning on the limits of his power. But though the popes of those times impiously claimed the power of dispensing with the laws of God, they had the modesty to acknowledge that former popes might have been deceived and imposed upon by misinformation, and that the dispensations and other bulls which they had granted upon wrong suggestions, were null and of no force. The ambassadors therefore set themselves to prove, that the dispensation for their king's marriage was granted

³⁶⁰ Strype, p. 91—94.

upon

A. D. 1528.

}

upon wrong suggestions, and consequently was null and void, and the marriage unlawful. The suggestions on which it was granted were these two ; 1. That the marriage was necessary to prevent the most cruel and bloody wars between the kingdoms of Spain and England. 2. That it was most earnestly desired by Henry prince of Wales. The first of these was unquestionably false, because the two nations and the two royal families were then in the most perfect amity, and had no ground of quarrel. The second could not be true, because Henry was then only in his twelfth year, and could not so much as give his consent, and he had protested against the projected marriage on the very day he had completed his fourteenth year³⁶¹.

These arguments, the importunity of the ambassadors, but especially the progress of the French and their confederates, who had invaded the kingdom of Naples, prevailed upon the cautious and timid pontiff to take some steps which seemed to promise Henry success in this great cause. Soon after the confederate army, commanded by Lautric, had invested the city of Naples, in which the imperial army had taken shelter, the pope believing the war to be near at an end, and that the imperialists would be driven out of Italy, granted the English ambassadors almost whatever they desired. By a bull dated at Viterbo June 6th, he appointed cardinal Wolsey and cardinal Campegius his legates *a latere* in England, with the most ample powers to judge and determine the affair of the king's

Bulls obtained.

³⁶¹ Collier's Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 25. Burnet, vol. i. p. 52.

A.D. 1528. marriage³⁶². As the affairs of the confederates still continued to wear a favourable aspect, and it was expected they would soon make themselves masters of the city and kingdom of Naples, the pope proceeded a step further, and on July 13th he signed a solemn pollicitation, that he would never revoke the commission he had given to the legates, nor advocate the cause to Rome. By the importunate solicitations of the ambassadors, he granted, about the same time, or soon after, a decretal bull, annulling Henry's marriage with queen Catherine, and permitting him to marry any other lady³⁶³. This bull was committed to Campegius to be carried into England,

Duplicity
of the
pope.

Henry and his ministers now imagined that they had surmounted all difficulties, and entertained the strongest hopes of obtaining the desired divorce in a very short time. But they were much mistaken. The pope had other views, of which they were entirely ignorant. Though he publicly professed the most inviolable attachment to the kings of France and England and their confederates, and the most implacable resentment against the emperor, yet he privately negotiated a reconciliation with that prince, and resolved to do nothing effectual in favour of the king of England that might prevent the success of that negotiation. He was confirmed in this resolution by the unfortunate turn the affairs of the confederates had taken before Naples, where their army was threatened

³⁶² Rym. tom. xiv. p. 295.

³⁶³ Herbert, p. 101. Burnet, vol. i. p. 54, 55.

with




with destruction by famine and the pestilence. Though he had granted, therefore, the above bulls, to cherish the hopes of the king, and excite the fears of the emperor, and make him more desirous of an accommodation, he took the most effectual measures to prevent their execution. With this view he directed Campegius (who was entirely under his influence) to pretend great reluctance to undertake so long a journey on account of his age and infirmities; and when this difficulty was overcome by the importunity, the promises, and certain other more powerful arguments of the English ambassadors, he travelled so slowly, that he did not arrive in England till the month of October³⁶⁴.

Though Henry had been much disgusted with Campegius for his affected delays, he prepared to give him a most magnificent reception, which he, being much afflicted with the gout, declined. When he had rested some days, and was a little recovered, he was carried in a chair, accompanied by cardinal Wolsey and a splendid train of nobles, to an audience of the king at Bridewell. At this audience his secretary made an elegant harangue in Latin, in which he painted the cruelties committed by the imperial army at the sacking of Rome in the strongest colours, and concluded with a flattering address to the king as the saviour of the church and deliverer of the pope. To this harangue doctor Fox made a modest reply in the same lan-

Campe-
gius ar-
rives in
England.

³⁶⁴ Burnet, p. 54, 55. Herbert, p. 107. Strype, Records, No. xxiii, xxiv, xxv, xxvi.

guage.

A. D. 1528.  guage³⁶⁵. When the assembly was dismissed, the two cardinals had a private conference with the king, in which Campegius, it is said, exhorted him to live in love and harmony with his queen, and desist from prosecuting for a divorce. This exhortation was equally unexpected and disagreeable. But Henry's circumstances at this time obliged him to bear many things that were very unpleasant to his proud impatient spirit.

**Refusal of
Campegius and
the pope
to part
with the
decretal
bull,**

To mitigate the king's displeasure and revive his hopes, Campegius shewed to him and the cardinal the decretal bull which annulled his marriage with the queen, and permitted him to marry any other lady. But when he was desired to commit this bull to Wolsey for a few days, that he might shew it to some of the king's confidential counsellors, he absolutely refused, and could not be prevailed upon by the most earnest entreaties to part with it, or shew it to any other. This greatly irritated and disconcerted both the king and the cardinal. They apprehended that some deception was intended, and determined, if possible, to get possession of that bull, which would have effectually secured their success, and put it out of the power of the pope to disappoint them. With this view, the cardinal wrote to sir Gregory Cassali, commanding him to wait upon the pope, and prevail upon him to send an order to Campegius to shew the decretal bull to some of the king's confidential servants; and he desires him to plead this cause with as much earnest-

³⁶⁵ Hall, f. 179.

ness as if he was pleading for the salvation of his soul³⁶⁶. But the pope proved as obstinate as Campegius. For though John and Vincent Cassali (in the absence of their brother sir Gregory, who was confined by sickness at Bononia) importuned him in the most earnest manner, and employed every argument that could work upon his hopes and fears, and renewed their arguments and importunities several different days, he remained inflexible. Of all this John Cassali wrote a long account to cardinal Wolsey, dated at Rome December 15th, and sent it by his brother Vincent³⁶⁷. The two Cassalis, in the course of their application to the pope, discovered his negotiation with the emperor, and that it was this that made him so resolute in refusing to comply with the king's request.

A.D. 1528.

Henry and his ministers were in no little perplexity at this time. On the arrival of Campegius, the king's divorce became the subject of almost every conversation, and was in general so unpopular, that they dreaded insurrections in several places. To prevent these the king made a speech to an assembly of nobles, prelates, the mayor, aldermen, and principal citizens of London, and many other persons of note, in the hall of his palace of Bridewell November 8th. In this speech he declared, with the most awful solemnity, that the troubles of his conscience about the unlawfulness of his marriage, and the dread of leaving a disputed succession, and not any dislike to his queen, whom

Speech of
the king.

³⁶⁶ Burnet, Records, No. xvi.

³⁶⁷ Ibid. No. xvii.

he

A. D. 1528.

he highly praised, were the motives which had determined him to have the lawfulness or unlawfulness of his marriage fully tried and finally decided. He entreated all who heard him to quiet the minds of his subjects in their several countries, by informing them of what he had now said; declaring, that if any of them after this presumed to impute his conduct to unworthy motives, or attempted to raise disturbances, they should be severely punished³⁶⁸. This speech, with some other precautions that were taken, preserved the public tranquillity.

The cardinals wait on the queen.

A few days after this, the two cardinals waited upon the queen, and intimated to her the commission they had received from the pope to try the validity of her marriage. Campegius was the speaker on this occasion, and exhorted her, it is said, to retire from the world, and enter into a religious life. The queen answered him with great composure, that she was the king's lawful wife, and not at her own disposal. That she could take no step without the advice of the emperor her nephew, from whom she expected protection; and that she could not look upon them as unbiassed judges in her cause. Then turning to cardinal Wolsey, she spoke with greater asperity, reproaching him as the first mover of this matter, and the great author of all her troubles, from his hatred to the emperor, because he had refused to make him pope by force of arms; and from his resentment against her, because she had often reproved him for his pride, lewdness, and other vices. The cardinal denied

³⁶⁸ Hall, f. 180. Stowe, p. 541.

that

that he had been the first mover of the king's scruples about his marriage, and that he was resolved to act the part of an upright impartial judge ³⁶⁹. Campegius sent an account of this conversation to the pope, and desired further instructions; which his holiness was in no haste to send, as his great object was to gain time to finish his treaty with the emperor.

A. D. 1528.

Henry, impatient of these delays, and anxious about the success of his application to the pope for the decretal bull, sent sir Francis Brian and Mr. Peter Vannes to Rome in the beginning of December, with instructions to dissuade the pope from agreeing with the emperor; to offer him a guard of two thousand men for the protection of his person; and if nothing else could avail, to threaten, that if he did not do the king justice without delay, he and his subjects would withdraw their obedience from the see of Rome. They were also directed to consult with the most learned men in the court of Rome about the practicability of several schemes for granting the king relief, particularly if the pope could give him a dispensation to have two wives, and if the issue of both would be legitimate ³⁷⁰. These schemes were suggested by Campegius, with no other view but to feed the king with vain hopes, and to keep him in good humour with those who were deceiving him.

Ambassadors sent to Rome.

With the same insidious view the pope sent his prothonotary Gambara into England, with a letter of credence to cardinal Wolsey, dated at Rome December 15th. The letter contained nothing

The pope deceives the king.

³⁶⁹ Hall, f. 281.

³⁷⁰ Burnet, p. 62. Records, No. xiz.

but

A. D. 1528.

but unmeaning professions of friendship to the king and him, and a desire to give entire credit to what the bearer would communicate, though he knew he would not tell them one word of truth. Gambara acted his part perfectly well. He assured them, in the most solemn manner, that his holiness was now determined to grant the king whatever he desired, and to do for him not only what he could do in justice and equity, but whatever he could do in the plenitude of his power. That he had so deep a sense of the king's merits, and the obligations he had laid on him, that if the resignation of the popedom might do him any service, he would readily resign it. The king and the cardinal were greatly elated by these assurances; and in order to take advantage of the favourable disposition of the pope, they resolved to send doctor Stephen Gardiner, their most active and able negotiator, immediately to Rome to finish the business. But all this was mere delusion. There was no truth in Gambara's declarations, and his real errand in England was to see Campegius burn the decretal bull, about which the pope was under the most terrible apprehensions, often saying to his confidants, that if by any accident it was made public, and came to the emperor's knowledge, he would be utterly ruined ²⁷¹.

A. D. 1529.
The pope
falls sick.

When doctor Gardiner was at Lyons on his way to Rome, he received intelligence that the pope had fallen sick when he was at mass January 6th; that it was believed he was dying, and that many

²⁷¹ Burnet, p. 61, 62, 63.

A. D. 1529.

of the cardinals had cast their eyes on cardinal Wolsey to be his successor. Of all this he informed the cardinal by an express; and soon after it was reported that the pope was dead. This once more roused Wolsey's ambition, and revived his hopes. He wrote, February the 6th, to the English ambassadors at Rome, to exert all their activity and art to promote his election³⁷². The king at the same time instructed them, "first to offer the
 " cardinals good reasons to convince them of Wolsey's fitness for the papacy. But because human
 " frailty is such that reason doth not always take
 " place, you must promise promotions and sums
 " of money, with other good rewards; and that all
 " the good preferments the cardinal hath, shall be
 " shared among those who procure his election³⁷³." Such were the arts employed, in those times, in the election of the successors of St. Peter.

The pope's recovery soon put a stop to these intrigues; but his relapse in the beginning of March revived them. When cardinal Wolsey heard of this relapse, which was represented as very dangerous, he wrote two very long letters to doctor Gardiner, sir Francis Brian, sir Gregory Cassalis, and Mr. Peter Vannes, the king's residents at Rome, in which he discovers the most extreme anxiety about his own advancement and the king's divorce, and suggests the most artful methods for obtaining these ends. He directs them to take care that the bishop of Verona, or some other trusty friend of theirs, should be always with his holiness, and em-

Letters
sent to
Rome.

³⁷² Burnet, Records, No. xx.³⁷³ Ibid. p. 64.

A. D. 1529.



brace every opportunity of speaking favourably of the king's cause; that they should endeavour to get access to him in his sickness, and urge him with the most earnest importunity to grant a decretal bull, or at least a more ample commission to the legates; and even to tell him, that if he delayed to do this justice to a prince who had done so much for him and for the church, he could not expect the salvation of his soul. At the same time the two legates, Wolfey and Campegius, wrote a very long, eloquent, and affecting letter to the pope, in which they endeavoured, by the most earnest entreaties and most powerful arguments, to prevail upon him to grant a decretal bull, dissolving the king's marriage, and permitting him to marry another lady, which would put a period to this most dangerous dispute. All these letters were sent to Rome with the greatest possible expedition ³⁷⁴.

Letters
from
Rome.

When the pope had recovered, and began to do business, the English ambassadors were admitted to an audience, and employed the strongest arguments and most earnest entreaties to prevail upon his holiness to grant the decretal bull. But all their arguments and entreaties were ineffectual. They received a positive refusal, accompanied indeed with many strong expressions of friendship for their royal master, which they well knew to be of no value. In a word, the ambassadors, who were men of ability, and had good intelligence, discovered that the pope was fully determined to desert his confederates, and unite himself with the emperor, and

³⁷⁴ Burnet, Records, No. xxii, xxiii, xxiv.

that,

that, whatever he might pretend, he never would do any thing effectual to promote the king's divorce, but every thing to feed him with vain hopes, as he had hitherto done. Of this they informed both the king and the cardinal by letters dated at Rome May 4th³⁷⁵. The cardinal's answer to these letters was dated May 21st, and sent by doctor Bennet, who was directed to remain at Rome to assist sir Gregory Cassalis and Mr. Vannes in counteracting the emperor's agents, and endeavouring to prevent the avocation of the cause to Rome. Brian and Gardiner were commanded to return home, where their services were wanted.

A. D. 1529.

Henry was now sensible of the error he had committed in relying on the delusive promises of the pope by Gambara, and resolved that the two legates should proceed without delay to execute their commission. The great hall of the Black-friars being properly fitted up for holding their court, the two cardinals took their seats with great pomp May 31st; their commission was read, the clerks were sworn to the faithful discharge of their duty, and an order given to summon the king and queen to appear in court June 18th, to which they adjourned. On that day the king appeared by two procurators, and the queen in person, and protested against the legates as partial incompetent judges, affirming that the cause was avocated to Rome, and craving time to bring proof of the truth of that affirmation. They gave her to the 21st of June, to which they adjourned. As the former

The legates hold their court.

³⁷⁵ Burnet, Records, No. xxv.

A. D. 1529.

adjournment was far too long, this was evidently much too short to answer the purpose for which it was demanded. Both the king and queen appeared personally in court June 21st; "but she persisting in her former willfulness, and in her appeal; which also by the said judges was likewise refused; and they minding to proceed further in the cause, the queen would no longer make her aboad to hear what the said judges would fully discern, but incontinently departed out of the court; wherefore she was thrice preconsaite, and called estfoons to return and appear; which she refusing to do, was denounced by the judges contumax, and a citation decerned for her appearance on Friday next³⁷⁶." But the queen never appeared after this in that court. The legates held several sessions in the month of July, in which they examined a great number of witnesses, to prove that prince Arthur's marriage had been consummated, of which as much evidence was produced as could be expected of such a matter, at so great a distance of time³⁷⁷.

Their
court ad-
journed.

The cause being now ripe for decision, a session was held July 30th, in order, as all the world imagined, to pronounce a definitive sentence. The court was crowded with noblemen and gentlemen, the king was in an adjoining apartment, impatiently expecting to hear that a sentence of divorce was

³⁷⁶ As it is impossible to reconcile the accounts given by historians of the queen's behaviour June 21st, I have related it in the words of the king, in a letter to his ambassadors at Rome, dated June 23d. Burnet, vol. i. Records, No. xxviii.

³⁷⁷ Herbert, p. 113, &c.

pronounced, when Campegius declared, that the courts at Rome were adjourned on that day, and therefore he and his colleague adjourned that court to October 1st. It is impossible to describe the surprise and indignation of the audience. The duke of Suffolk, in a storm of rage, beat with violence on the table, and said, he now saw the truth of the old saying, that no legate ever did good in England. Then he and the duke of Norfolk, with the other noblemen and gentlemen, retired with precipitation, leaving the two cardinals in their chairs of state, staring at one another. When Henry was informed of what had happened, he could hardly restrain his fury; but being ignorant of what was done at Rome, and still hoping to obtain a sentence in his favour at the next meeting of the court, he became more calm, and behaved with more temper than could have been expected.

Henry had not only been cruelly deceived by the pope, but also by Campegius, an old, profligate, unprincipled debauchee, who spent his days in hunting, gaming, and feasting, and his nights in the company of courtezans. He had made him so many presents, and so many promises, that he imagined he had entirely gained him to his interest. But he was quite mistaken. He took his presents, and betrayed his secrets. He even found means to pilfer from his cabinet some love-letters that had passed between him and Anne Boleyn, and sent them to Rome, where they still remain. His own great favourite, cardinal Wolsey, had acted in a

Deceit of
the pope
and car-
dinals.

A. D. 1529.

very mysterious manner during the late trial. Though he was one of the proudest men alive, took place of all men, and the lead in all affairs, he permitted Campegius, who was a younger cardinal, and his inferior in all respects, to conduct the whole process, and do what he pleased. Besides this, he gave the king no hint of the intended adjournment of the court, of which he could not be ignorant, and suffered that blow to fall upon him without any warning. These things excited strong suspicions in the king's mind that Wolsey deceived him; and though he concealed his suspicions for some time, they weakened his confidence in him, and their effects soon appeared.

The king's
cause avo-
cated to
Rome.

While the two legates were holding their courts in England, the English residents at Rome were labouring with great zeal to prevent the avocation of the cause, which the emperor's agents were soliciting with equal zeal. For some time the pope appeared exceedingly perplexed and undetermined, and by that artful conduct he encouraged the hopes of the king, and excited the fears of the emperor, to retard the resentment of the former, and to procure better conditions from the latter in the treaty that was then negotiating. But as soon as his holiness received intelligence that the treaty with the emperor was concluded at Barcelona July 3d, he began to talk in a more determined tone, and told the English ambassadors, that he could not in justice refuse to grant the avocation. They then redoubled their efforts to procure a delay of what they could

could not prevent, in hopes that the cause would be determined in England before the avocation was issued. Doctor Bennet, on his knees, and with many tears, assured him, that the king and kingdom of England would be lost as soon as the cause was avocated. He conjured him at least to delay till he had written to the king and received his answer; but in vain. The pope stood firm, and actually signed the avocation July 18th, and the day after sent it away with a letter to cardinal Wolsey ³⁷⁸. The ambassadors had taken care to inform their royal master from time to time of every step they had taken, and of all the fears they entertained, which prepared him for receiving this most unwelcome news.

A. D. 1529.

Henry, to divert his chagrin occasioned by the adjournment and avocation of his cause, set out on a progress, accompanied by lady Ann Boleyn, in the beginning of August. The two cardinals followed him, and were admitted to an audience at Grafton, at which the king so far constrained himself, that he received and treated them both with civility, and dismissed Campegius without any expressions of resentment for the treacherous and ungrateful part he had acted. The cardinals retired that night to Towcester, and Wolsey returned next morning to Grafton to wait upon the king; but a message was sent him to go and accompany Campegius to London; and after this repulse he never was permitted to see his indulgent master, with whom he had been so long on such a friendly and familiar footing ³⁷⁹. It was now visible to the

Henry discontented with Wolsey.

³⁷⁸ Burnet, p. 75, 76. Records, No. xxx.³⁷⁹ Hall, f. 193.

A. D. 1529.

whole court that Henry was discontented with his favourite, and no endeavours were wanting to increase his discontent.

The king
in great
perplexity.

The king was in very perplexing circumstances at this time, and had many things to irritate and disquiet his mind. The pope, for whom he had been a most zealous champion, and from whom he had received the most solemn assurances of favour, had first deluded, then abandoned, and at last insulted him, by citing him to appear at Rome to plead his cause, and threatening him with all the thunders of the church if he disobeyed. Cardinal Campegius, on whom he had heaped favours, presents, and promises, and in whose professions he had placed an entire confidence, he was now convinced, had deceived him from first to last; and he strongly suspected that his own great favourite Wolsey, who had been raised by him from the dust, honoured with his warmest friendship for many years, and loaded with dignities and riches, had joined in the deceit. His queen, by her invincible opposition to his will, her affectation of popularity, and her joy at the avocation of his cause, had increased his dislike to disgust, if not to hatred; and yet he saw no way of procuring a divorce from her, or of obtaining the lady he loved. In this situation he formed various projects; but as none of them promised success, they were all relinquished.

Peace of
Cambray.

The king of France having lost all hopes of recovering his two sons from the emperor by the force of his arms, which had been unfortunate, had for some time past been negotiating a peace with

that prince, and the negotiation had been managed by two female politicians, Margaret governess of the Low Countries, the emperor's aunt, and Louise of Savoy, the king's mother. These two singular plenipotentiaries, after many conferences, concluded a perpetual peace between the two monarchs at Cambray August 5th, A. D. 1529. By this peace four articles of the treaty of Madrid were a little mitigated. In particular, the emperor agreed to accept of two millions of crowns instead of Burgundy, as a ransom for the two French princes. The allies of both parties were comprehended in this peace, and among others the king of England, who acceded to it, though no attention had been paid to his interest in the negotiation. On this occasion Henry behaved with great generosity to his unfortunate ally the king of France. To enable him to pay the great ransom for his sons, he assigned to him a debt of 290,000 crowns due by the emperor, and made him a present of a jewel called the fleur de lys, which the emperor's father had pledged to Henry VII. for 50,000 crowns ³⁸⁰.

A. D. 1529.

As the king returned from his progress, the court remained one night at Waltham, and doctor Gardiner and doctor Fox, the king's secretary and almoner, were lodged in the house of one Mr. Cressy, with whom doctor Thomas Cranmer of Cambridge (who will be often mentioned) then resided. After supper, the conversation, as usual, turned on the king's divorce. The two courtiers

Doctor
Cranmer's
advice.

A.D. 1529.

desired to know doctor Cranmer's sentiments on that subject, and what he thought should be done in the present state of that business. He at first declined to give his opinion on so high a matter. But being warmly pressed, he said, that rather than spend any more time in fruitless solicitations at Rome, he thought it would be better to propose this plain question to the most learned men and chief universities in Europe,—“Do the laws of God permit a man to marry his brother's widow?” If their answers were in the negative, as he imagined they would be, the pope would not dare to pronounce a sentence in opposition to the sentiments of all these learned men and learned bodies. When the court returned to Greenwich, the secretary and almoner waited upon the king, and communicated the hint suggested by Cranmer, with which he was mightily pleased; and having ordered him to be sent for, he was no less pleased with his appearance and conversation. He immediately retained him in his service, placed him in the family of sir Thomas Boleyn earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, father of lady Ann Boleyn, and engaged him to write a book in favour of the divorce, and afterwards employed him in the execution of his own schemes³⁸¹.

Fall of
cardinal
Wolsey.

Cardinal Wolsey, who had so long enjoyed the unbounded confidence and favour of his sovereign, now saw the clouds gathering around him, and began to dread a storm; but it proved both more

³⁸¹ Burnet, p. 79, 80. Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 4, 5.

A. D. 1529.

sudden and more severe than he apprehended. By the whispers of the courtiers, and particularly of the lady Ann Boleyn, the king's displeasure against him was daily more and more inflamed, and a design was formed to bring him down from the towering height to which he had ascended. This design was kept very secret; and if the means employed to accomplish it were not illegal, they were certainly very rigorous. The cardinal, on the first day of the term, October 9th, rode with his usual pomp to Westminster to open his court of chancery; and on the same day the king's attorney presented an indictment against him in the king's bench, on the statute of provisors 16 Richard II. for procuring a bull from Rome appointing him *legatus a latere*, contrary to the statute, by which he had incurred a *præmunire*, and forfeited all his goods, and even his liberty, to the king³⁸². A few days after this, Henry sent the dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk to the cardinal to demand the great seal, which he refused to deliver on a verbal message; but when they afterwards produced a written order, he obeyed, and put the seal into their hands October 17th, which the king delivered to sir Thomas More on the 25th of the same month³⁸³. The two dukes, at the same time that they received the great seal from the cardinal, delivered to him a very unpleasant message from the king, commanding him to remove from his palace in Westminster, called York-place, (afterwards Whitehall,) and go

³⁸² Herbert, p. 124. Fiddes' Life of Wolsey, p. 496.

³⁸³ Rym. tom. xiv. p. 349.

A. D. 1529. to Ashur, a house near Hampton-court, belonging to his bishopric of Winchester, to which he had lately been advanced ²²⁴.

These severe and heavy blows following one another so quickly, seemed to have stunned the unhappy cardinal, and deprived him of that fortitude of which he stood so much in need. He was astonished, and not without reason, that the king's friendship for him, which had been so warm and of such long duration, had vanished in a moment, and had been succeeded by so violent an animosity as these proceedings indicated. He knew the king's temper too well to imagine that any opposition he could make would answer any good purpose, and therefore resolved to make none. But before he left York-place, he ordered an exact inventory to be taken of all the furniture, plate, &c. in that palace, of which the following is a short description, given by one who had assisted in taking that inventory: " In his gallery were set divers tables, " upon which were laid divers and great stores of " rich stuffs; as whole pieces of silk of all colours, " velvets, sattins, musts, taffaties, programs, scarlets, " and divers rich commodities. Also there were a " thousand pieces of fine hollands, and the hangings " of the gallery with cloth of gold and cloth of sil- " ver, and rich cloth of bodkin of divers colours, " which were hanged in expectation of the king's " coming. Also, on one side of the gallery were " hanged the rich suits of copes of his own provid- " ing, which were made for the colleges of Oxford

²²⁴ Fiddes, p. 497.

" and

“ and Ipswich; they were the richest that ever I saw
 “ in all my life. Then had he two chambers ad-
 “ joining to the gallery, the one most commonly
 “ called the gilt chamber, wherein were set two
 “ broad and long tables, whereupon was set such
 “ abundance of plate of all sorts, as was almost in-
 “ credible to be believed, a great part being all of
 “ clear gold; and upon every table and cupboard
 “ where the plate was set were books importing
 “ every kind of plate, and every piece, with the
 “ contents and weight thereof¹⁸⁵.” In a word,
 the goods, plate, and furniture of that palace
 were estimated at 500,000 crowns, equivalent to
 500,000 l. of our money. A striking proof of the
 magnificent spirit, as well as of the immense wealth,
 of this extraordinary man!

When the cardinal had set every thing in order
 at York-place, he took his barge at the privy stairs,
 followed by a numerous train of attendants, and
 sailed down the river, which was almost covered
 with boats and barges, crowded with the citizens
 of London, expecting to see him carried to the
 Tower¹⁸⁶. They were disappointed. He landed
 at Putney, and mounting his mule, set out on his
 journey. But he had not gone far, when he was
 accosted by Mr. Norris, a gentleman of the court,
 with a most gracious message from the king; assur-
 ing him that he stood as high as ever in his royal
 favour. This unexpected message threw his spi-
 rits into so violent an agitation, that, forgetting
 both his age and dignity, he sprung from his mule,

¹⁸⁵ Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, p. 79.¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

A. D. 1529.

fell on his knees in the mire, and holding up his hands, uttered some extravagant expressions of joy and gratitude ³⁸⁷. But he soon recovered from this unseemly perturbation, and conversed calmly with Mr. Norris, who delivered him a ring which the king had been accustomed to send him, as a token to give credit to the bearer. It is impossible to discover what induced Henry to send this message; whether it proceeded from some remains of affection, or was a mere artifice to prevent his making any defence in the prosecution commenced against him on the statute of provisors. The cardinal arrived at Ashur the same evening, and found the house almost quite unfurnished, and very unlike the magnificent mansion he had left ³⁸⁸.

The cardinal's goods forfeited.

The king granted the cardinal, by letters patent, a power to appoint two attornies to appear and answer for him in all courts of justice ³⁸⁹. He accordingly constituted John Seuse and Christopher Genney his attornies, who appeared for him October 28, and protested in his name, "That he did not know that the impetration of the bulls from Rome was to the contempt and prejudice of the king, or against any statute. As to the particulars wherewith he was charged by master attorney, he confessed them all true; and so submitted himself to the king." Upon which the court pronounced this sentence: "That he was out of the protection, and his lands, goods, and chattels forfeit, and his person might be seized ³⁹⁰."

³⁸⁷ Stowe, p. 547.³⁸⁸ Ibid. p. 548. Cavendish, p. 81.³⁸⁹ Rym. tom. xiv. p. 348.³⁹⁰ Herbert, p. 125.

The cardinal might have made a much better, and even effectual defence, by producing the king's letters patent, authorising him to accept the bulls from Rome³⁹¹. But his knowledge of Henry's violent vindictive temper, and his hopes of being received again into favour, determined him to make no opposition.

A. D. 1529.

After a long intermission of seven years, a parliament was now called, which met November 3d. One of the objects of calling this parliament, or at least of those who advised the calling of it, seems to have been to complete the ruin of cardinal Wolsey, and effectually prevent his returning again into favour, which his enemies greatly dreaded. With this view, a committee of the house of lords presented to that house, December 1st, a very long address to the king against the cardinal; accusing him, "That presuming to take upon him the authority of the pope's legate *a latere*, he hath committed notable, high, and grievous offences, as contained in certain articles here following³⁹²." The articles were no fewer than forty-four; some of them trifling, some greatly exaggerated, if not untrue, few of them of great importance, and none of them very highly criminal. They are far too long to be here inserted; the following one, which is the sixth, may serve as a specimen: "Whereas your grace is our sovereign lord and head, in whom standeth all the surety and wealth of this realm, the same lord cardinal, knowing himself to have the foul and contagious disease of the

Parliament.

³⁹¹ Cavendish, p. 83.³⁹² Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 42.

" great

A.D. 1539.

“ great pox broken out upon him in divers places
 “ of his body, came daily to your grace, rowning
 “ (whispering) in your ear, and blowing upon your
 “ most noble grace with his perilous infective
 “ breath, to the marvelous danger of your highness,
 “ if God of his infinite goodness had not better
 “ provided for your highness. And when he was
 “ once heald of them, he made your grace to
 “ believe that his disease was an imposthume in his
 “ head, and none other thing³⁹³.” The last article
 concludes with this requisition: “ Please it your
 “ royal majesty, therefore, of your excellent good-
 “ ness, towards the weale of this your realm, and sub-
 “ jects of the same, to set such order and direction
 “ upon the said lord cardinal as may be to the ter-
 “ rible example to others, to beware so to offend
 “ your grace and your laws hereafter: and that he
 “ be so provided for, that he never have any power,
 “ jurisdiction, or authority hereafter, to trouble,
 “ vex, and impoverish the commonwealth of this
 “ your realm, as he hath done heretofore, to the
 “ great hurt and damage of every man almost, high
 “ and low³⁹⁴.” This address was sent to the house
 of commons, and their concurrence desired. But
 there the cardinal found a powerful advocate in his
 own steward, the famous Thomas Cromwel, after-
 wards earl of Essex, who, from the very lowest
 station, rose to the highest honours and offices in
 the state, by the mere force of his extraordinary
 talents and virtues. Being a member of the house
 of commons, he defended his fallen master with

³⁹³ Parl. Hist. p. 44.³⁹⁴ Ibid. p. 55.

such strength of argument and power of eloquence, that the address was rejected ³⁹⁵. There is some reason to suspect that the king was not very fond of this address, and did not wish to be precluded from recalling his former favourite. This much at least is certain, that he was so far from being offended with Mr. Cromwel for defending his unhappy master, that he immediately engaged him in his own service ³⁹⁶.

A. D. 1529.

Remarkable statute.

This very parliament, about the same time, made an act unspeakably more unjust, oppressive, and cruel, than any thing of which they had accused the cardinal. The king had borrowed great sums of money from a prodigious multitude of his subjects of all ranks, for the repayment of which he had given bonds and other legal securities. The parliament very generously made the king a present of all the money he had borrowed from his subjects, and declared his bonds and securities to be of no value. The king thanked his two houses in the politest terms for their generosity, and graciously accepted their valuable present; while his creditors were left to condole with one another, and put up with their losses as well as they could. The preamble to this iniquitous statute is one of the most extravagant pieces of flattery that ever was composed. In it they give a mournful description of the confusion, poverty, distress, and misery of all other nations, and draw a very flattering picture of the riches, peace, and prosperity of England during his grace's reign; never reflecting that only a few

³⁹⁵ Cavendish, p. 82, 83.³⁹⁶ Herbert, p. 119.

A. D. 1529.

days before they had accused cardinal Wolsey of having taken the direction of all affairs, and thereby brought the nation to the very brink of ruin³⁹⁷. None of Wolsey's admirers ever paid him so great a compliment as this parliament, which conspired his ruin.

Distress of
the car-
dinal.

In the mean time the cardinal was very wretched and unhappy at Ashur. Finding himself unable to support his attendants, he dismissed a great number of them November 5th; and as he had been a very indulgent master, both he and they shed a flood of tears at parting, and some of the gentlemen who could support themselves refused to leave him³⁹⁸. His mind was violently agitated by alternate hopes and fears, occasioned by a succession of kind messages and cruel demands from the king. Sir John Ruffel was sent in great secrecy from the court at Greenwich November 6th, with a most comfortable assurance that the king was not really offended with him; and, a few days after, judge Shelley came with a command to surrender to the king York-place, which belonged to his see of York. He was greatly shocked at this illegal demand; but, after reasoning long with the judge, he at last complied. "Thus," says Cavendish, (his gentleman usher,) "my lord continued at Ashur, receiving daily messages from the court, some good and some bad, but more ill than good³⁹⁹." The design of the cardinal's enemies at court, in procuring so many harsh messages to be

³⁹⁷ Rolls of Parliament, A. D. 1529.

³⁹⁸ Cavendish, p. 81, 82.

³⁹⁹ Ibid. p. 86.

sent him, was, as we are told, either to provoke him to do some rash thing that might irritate the king against him, or to throw him into some disease that might occasion his death, which they most earnestly desired. In this last cruel design they nearly succeeded. At Christmas he fell so dangerously ill, that his attendants believed him to be dying ⁴⁰⁰.

A. D. 1529.

The news of the cardinal's sickness seems to have excited the king's compassion, of which he was not very susceptible. He commanded his physician, doctor Butts, to go and visit him; who, on his return to court, told the king that he was dangerously ill, and that if he did not receive some comfort from his majesty, he would be a dead man in four days. "God forbid," said Henry, "that he should die; for I would not lose him for 20,000l. I pray you go to him, and do your best care of him." The doctor honestly replied, that all his care would signify nothing, if his majesty did not send him a gracious message. The king took a ring from his finger, charged with a ruby, on which his own picture was engraved, commanding the doctor to deliver it to him, and assure him that he was not offended with him in his heart, with many other kind expressions. Lady Anne Boleyn too, at the king's desire, took her tablet of gold that hung at her side, and delivered it to the doctor, with many gentle and loving words. When doctor Butts delivered these tokens and messages, "the cardinal," says one who was present, "advanced

A. D. 1530.
The cardinal's
sickness
and recovery.

⁴⁰⁰ Cavendish, p. 86.

A. D. 1530.

“ himself in his bed, and received the tokens very joyfully; giving him thanks for his pains and good comfort.” From that moment his hopes revived, his disease abated, and in a few days he was out of danger ⁴⁰¹.

Cardinal's
dejection.

While the cardinal resided at Ashurst, he neglected nothing that he thought might contribute to the recovery of the king's favour. His chief reliance seems to have been on the good offices of doctor Stephen Gardiner, who had formerly been his secretary, and was now secretary to the king. The letters he wrote to that gentleman in this interval, it must be confessed, do him no honour. They plainly discover that he did not possess that firmness and fortitude of mind that became a great man in his circumstances; they betray an excessive fondness for riches, power, and royal favour, and an extreme dejection and abasement of spirit on the loss of them; in a word, they prove that cardinal Wolsey, with all his great talents, was a mere man of the world, who placed his supreme felicity in the smiles of royalty and the sunshine of a court, and when these were taken from him he had nothing left ⁴⁰².

Favours to
the cardinal.

Henry having by this time seized all the cardinal's goods and chattels, the income of his bishoprics, abbies, and other benefices, his colleges at Oxford and Ipswich, with all their furniture and

⁴⁰¹ Cavendish, p. 87, 88. Grove's Life and Times of Cardinal Wolsey, vol. iv. p. 325, 326.

⁴⁰² Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 115, 116. Records, No. xxxi, xxxii.

revenues,

revenues, his pensions, his clothes, and even his very tomb, seems to have proposed to carry his prosecution of him no further. He granted him therefore a pardon February 12th, A. D. 1530, of all treasons, murders, rapes, and all other crimes and misdemeanors, in the most ample manner that could be devised. Five days after this, February 17th, the king and the cardinal entered into indentures, by which the cardinal surrendered to the king the revenues and patronage of his bishopric of Winchester and abbey of Saint Alban's, with all his other rents and pensions at home and abroad; and the king granted to the cardinal the revenues, patronages, lands, and houses of his archbishopric of York, except York-place, with a pension of 1000 marks a-year out of the bishopric of Winchester. About the same time the king sent him a present of 3000l. in money, and in plate and furniture, &c. to the value of 3374l. 3s. 7d. and gave him leave to reside at Richmond ⁴⁰³.

A. D. 1530.

The cardinal's enemies at court were greatly alarmed at these favours, which had been granted without their knowledge. They were particularly apprehensive of his residing at Richmond, so near the court; and therefore they exerted all their arts to procure an order for his removal to so great a distance as might prevent his having an interview with the king, which he desired and they dreaded above all things. They at length prevailed. An order was sent to him, by his friend Mr. Cromwel, to go and reside in his archbishopric of York,

The cardinal goes to the north.

⁴⁰³ Rym. p. 366—376.

A. D. 1530.

This was a severe blow to the cardinal, who still flattered himself, that if he could obtain an audience of the king, he would regain his favour. He therefore entreated Cromwel to procure him leave to reside in his bishopric of Winchester, which was not at so great a distance. But this could not be obtained, and the duke of Norfolk desired Cromwel to tell him, that if he did not get away immediately into the north, he would come and tear him in pieces with his teeth. "Then," said he, "Tom, 'it is time for me to be gone.'" And that zealous and faithful friend having got him 1000 marks, and a most gracious message from the king, he set out with one hundred and sixty attendants, a long train of waggons, containing his plate, furniture, &c. and proceeding by easy journies, he arrived at Peterborough, where he celebrated the feast of Easter. He spent the summer and harvest at Southwell and Scrooby-houses, (belonging to his see,) which he repaired; and there, by his affability and hospitality, he gained the esteem and love of people of all ranks. About Michaelmas he came to his castle of Cawood, seven miles from York⁴⁰⁴.

His behaviour there.

In this situation the cardinal behaved with decorum and propriety. He received all who came to visit him with condescension, and treated them hospitably. Here, as he had done at Scrooby, he went to some neighbouring church every Sunday, where he said mass, and one of his chaplains preached. After service he invited the clergy and most respectable parishioners to dinner, and distri-

⁴⁰⁴ Cavendish, p. 91, 92, 93. Grove, vol. iv. p. 334.

buted

buted alms to the poor. The clergy of his cathedral he treated in the kindest manner; telling them he was come to live among them as their friend and brother. He could not, however, overcome his taste for magnificence; and though he was in want of money, he employed three hundred labourers and artificers in repairing his castle of Cawood. His hospitality, popularity, and buildings, were greatly magnified and misrepresented to the king, to excite his jealousy. Of this his friend Cromwel informed him, and gave him many prudent advices, which, if he could have followed, his enemies would probably have forgot to fear and persecute him. It is said by some historians, that the king's design in all he had done against his favourite, was to bring him to consent to pronounce the sentence of divorce, without regard to the court of Rome; and that when he obstinately refused to do it, he resolved to ruin him ⁴⁰⁵. But of this I can find no evidence.

The clergy of York, highly pleased with their metropolitan, waited upon him in a body, and begged "that he would come to be installed in his cathedral, according to the custom of his predecessors." To this, after taking some time to consider, he consented, on condition that it should be done with as little pomp as possible; and the Monday after All Saints was appointed to be the day of the instalment. As soon as the news of this was made public, the noblemen, gentlemen, and clergy of the country around, sent great quantities

His instalment appointed.

⁴⁰⁵ Grove, vol. iv. p. 334 339.

A. D. 1530.

of provisions of all kinds to York, and preparations were made for a most magnificent feast. But this solemnity was prevented by a very unexpected event ⁴⁰⁶.

His death.

On the Friday before the intended instalment, the earl of Northumberland, accompanied by sir Walter Walsh, a gentleman of the king's bed-chamber, and a number of horsemen, arrived at Cawood, took possession of the castle, and going up stairs, was met by the cardinal, who embraced him, believing he had come to pay him a friendly visit. The earl then said, with a faltering voice, "I arrest you of high treason." And the cardinal, in great surprise, after some hesitation, submitted. On Sunday the earl set out with his prisoner for the earl of Shrewsbury's, steward of the king's household, at Sheffield-park, where they were directed to remain till further orders, and arrived there on the third day, November 9th. The earl, his lady, and family, received the cardinal with every mark of respect, and treated him with the greatest tenderness. Here he remained about two weeks, waiting for orders from court; towards the end of which time he was seized with a flux. At length, sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower, arrived, with twenty-four of his guards, to conduct him to London. The earl of Shrewsbury was at great pains to communicate this news to the cardinal so as not to alarm him, and employed Cavendish, who told him he brought him good news, that the king had sent sir William Kingston to con-

duct him into his royal presence. "Kingston!" cried the cardinal; and clapping his hand on his thigh, gave a great sigh. The earl then entered, and told him, that he had letters from his friends at court, which assured him that the king had the sincerest friendship for him, and was determined to shew him favour. Sir William Kingston was then introduced, fell on his knees, and refusing to arise from that posture, delivered the king's commendations to his grace, assured him of his royal favour, and said, that his majesty had commanded him to obey him in all things. The cardinal, who perfectly understood the court language, replied, "I know what is designed for me; I thank you, sir, for your good news; I am a diseased man, but I will prepare to ride with you to-morrow." On the third evening he reached Leicester-abbey, where he was received by the monks with lighted torches, to whom he said, "I am come, my brethren, to lay my bones amongst you." Being lifted from his mule and carried up stairs, he was put to bed, where, after languishing two days, he expired, November 29th, A. D. 1530, in the sixtieth year of his age. In his last conversation with sir William Kingston, among other things, he said, "Had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, he would not have given me over in my gray hairs. But this is the just reward that I must receive for my diligent pains and study, not regarding my service to God, but only to my prince. Let me advise you to take heed what you put in the king's head, for you
" can

A. D. 1530.

“ can never put it out again. I have often kneeled
 “ before him, sometimes three hours together, to
 “ persuade him from his will and appetite, but
 “ could not prevail ⁴⁰⁷.”

His cha-
 racter.

Thomas Wolsey rose from a humble station to greater wealth and power than any British subject ever attained. His revenues, it is said, were equal to those of the crown. For almost twenty years he not only directed all the affairs of England in church and state, but had also very great influence in all the affairs of Europe. He was courted, preferred, and pensioned by the emperor, the king of France, and several other princes; flattered by divines, historians, and poets, in strains approaching to blasphemy; and served by lords, knights, and gentlemen of the first rank, who bore offices in his family. His revenues he never hoarded, but expended in building noble palaces, magnificent colleges, in promoting arts and learning, and in supporting a princely establishment. This power I will not say he never abused; but few ministers have possessed so much power for so great a length of time, and abused it less. England, during his administration, was the umpire of Europe. His abilities were certainly great, his diligence indefatigable, and he must have had something peculiarly agreeable and captivating in his address, who so suddenly gained, and so long preserved, the affection of so capricious, so impetuous, and so fickle a prince as Henry VIII. His morals were far from being suitable to his clerical character and high station in the

⁴⁰⁷ Cavendish, chap. 19, 20.

church.

church. His spirits fell with his fortunes, and he never could subdue his passion for pomp and power, or relinquish his hopes of royal favour, which he solicited in such an abject manner as degraded and sunk his character. His fall was fortunate to his country in one respect, as it removed one of the strongest props of the papal power, which soon after fell to the ground in England.

A. D. 1530.

During the whole of this year, 1530, Henry was employed in prosecuting the plan suggested by doctor Cranmer, and collecting the opinions of universities and learned men, at home and abroad, in favour of his divorce. In this service a considerable number of the most intelligent and active men in England were engaged; and they were so successful, that in the course of this year they obtained decrees of ten of the most famous universities in Europe against the legality of the king's marriage; viz. of Oxford and Cambridge in England; of Paris, Angers, Bourges, Orleans, and Thoulouse, in France; and of Bologna, Padua, and Ferrara, in Italy⁴⁰⁸. They prevailed also on several men of learning to publish books in favour of the divorce, and procured the written opinions of many doctors of the civil and canon law to the same purpose⁴⁰⁹. Henry's agents in Switzerland and Germany were no less active and successful. They applied to the protestants as well as papists, and both, in general, declared for the divorce. All these decrees, books, and opinions, procured with much

Decrees of
universi-
ties.

⁴⁰⁸ Rym. tom. xiv. p. 390—400. Burnet, vol. i. p. 85—96.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

difficulty.

A.D. 1530.

Applica-
tion to
Rome.

difficulty and labour and at no small expence, were transmitted to England.

No prince in Europe was a greater admirer of the unlimited power of the pope than Henry VIII.: he had written in defence of it; and though he was greatly displeased with Clement VII., he could not think of contradicting his own writings, by withdrawing his obedience to the holy see. He resolved therefore to make some further attempts at the court of Rome. By his influence, a considerable number of the great men, both of the clergy and laity, sent a most humble and earnest address to the pope, dated July 13th. In this address they beseech and conjure his holiness, in the most pathetic language, to do justice to their distressed and injured sovereign, by pronouncing the sentence of his divorce, which all the most famous universities and most learned men in England, France, and Italy had declared to be just and necessary; intimating, in very plain terms, that if he refused to do this, that they would find a remedy in another way. This address was signed by two archbishops, four bishops, two dukes, two marquisses, thirteen earls, two viscounts, twenty-three barons, twenty-two abbots, and eleven knights and doctors⁴¹⁰. The king commanded his ambassadors, the earl of Wiltshire and doctor Cranmer, who were at Bononia, where both the emperor and the pope then resided, to second and enforce the address. The ambassadors acted their part with great zeal and ability; and the pope seemed to be inclined to make some

⁴¹⁰ Parliament. Hist. vol. iii. p. 62—73.

concessions to the king, to prevent him from shaking off his authority. But his holiness durst do nothing to displease the emperor, and that prince continued to espouse the cause of the queen his aunt. To the address of the prelates and nobles the pope returned an artful and smooth answer, which gave no satisfaction ⁴¹¹. Doctor Cranmer boldly challenged all the learned men of the papal court to a dispute on the question of the king's marriage, but none of them chose to accept the challenge ⁴¹². Henry was so much pleased with this, and with the report made of him by the earl of Wiltshire, that he appointed him his sole ambassador to the emperor; and the pope, as a mark of his respect, and to please the king, made him his plenipotentiary for England ⁴¹³.

A. D. 1530.

Henry now despairing of any success at the court of Rome, brought the great affair of his divorce before his parliament, which met January 7th, A. D. 1531. On the 30th of March, the lord chancellor, attended by twelve peers, came to the house of commons, and made a speech, explaining the king's motives for desiring a divorce from his queen; and then produced a box, containing the decrees of universities, and the books and opinions of learned men, on that subject. Sir Bryan Tuke opened the box, and took out twelve writings sealed, the decrees of twelve universities, which he read, translated into English. There were, besides, above one hundred books and writings,

A. D. 1531.
Parliament.⁴¹¹ Parliament. Hist. vol. iii. p. 75—79.⁴¹² Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 9. ⁴¹³ Ibid. which

A. D. 1531.

which there was not time to read. The chancellor then said, "Now you in this house may report in
 " your countries what you have seen and heard ;
 " and then all men shall openly perceive that the
 " king hath not attempted this matter of will or
 " pleasure, as some strangers report, but only for
 " the discharge of his conscience, and surety of
 " the succession of this realm. This is the cause
 " of our report hither to you, and now we will
 " depart ⁴¹⁴."

Books on
the di-
vorce.

Still further to inform his subjects, and secure their attachment, Henry caused several small books, on the unlawfulness of his marriage, to be printed, published, and distributed in all parts of the kingdom. The queen's party, which was not inconsiderable, imitated this example, and wrote, and circulated, several treatises on the other side of the question. The divorce now appeared important and interesting to every subject, and there were very few who did not engage warmly in the contest. The men of all ranks were in general (as we are told by a contemporary historian) on the king's side, and the women on the queen's ⁴¹⁵.

The queen
inflexible.

The king sent several lords of his privy council to the queen at Greenwich, May 31st, to communicate to her the decrees of the universities, and the opinions of learned men, on the unlawfulness of their marriage, and to persuade her to quiet the king's conscience, by consenting to the divorce. "I pray God, (said she,) send his grace a quiet
 " conscience, and this shall be your answer: that

⁴¹⁴ Hall, f. 195, &c.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid. Burnet, vol. i. p. 97—105.

"I say

“ I say I am his lawful wife, and to him lawfully
 “ married; and by the order of the holy church I
 “ was to him espoused as his trew wife, although
 “ I was not so worthy; and by that point I will
 “ abide, till the court of Rome, which was privy
 “ to the beginning, have made thereof a deter-
 “ mination and final ending ⁴¹⁶.” The king was so
 much irritated at this answer, that he never saw the
 queen after.

A. D. 1532.

As Henry had been at great pains to satisfy his
 own mind, and to convince his subjects of the un-
 lawfulness of his marriage, and the necessity of a
 divorce to prevent a disputed succession, he was at
 no less pains to increase the number and secure the
 attachment of his allies, especially of those who
 were not friendly to his two great opponents, the
 pope and the emperor. In particular, he cultivated
 the friendship of the king of France with the greatest
 diligence, and laboured, by many good offices, to
 engage him warmly in his cause. Doctor Cran-
 mer, the king's ambassador to the emperor, now
 in Germany, was very active in procuring the opi-
 nions of learned men for the divorce, and in con-
 veying hints to the protestant princes, that they
 might hope for assistance from the king of Eng-
 land against the emperor ⁴¹⁷.

Alliances.

As the greatest opposition to the divorce in Eng-
 land was expected from the clergy, the king found
 it necessary to humble them, by diminishing both
 their wealth and power. The whole clergy of
 England were involved in a præmunire, and put

A. D. 1532.
The clergy
humbled.⁴¹⁶ Hall, f. 200.⁴¹⁷ Memorials of Cranmer, b. 1. ch. 3.

A.D. 1532.

out of the king's protection, for submitting to the legatine power of cardinal Wolsey. Those of the province of Canterbury redeemed their persons and goods this year, by paying the king 100,000*l.*; and those of the province of York, by paying 18,000*l.*⁴¹⁸ In the deed by which they granted this money to the king, they were brought to acknowledge him to be the supreme head of the church of England, which gave him much more authority over them than he or his predecessors had before possessed. The laity of all ranks, who had long been fleeced and oppressed by their spiritual guides, discovered great satisfaction with these transactions; and the clergy seeing themselves no longer protected by the pope, or supported by the people, were obliged to submit. Henry not only humbled his own clergy, but he shewed the pope, that he had it in his power either to deprive him of all the revenues he derived from England, or to continue these revenues as he pleased. The parliament made an act, prohibiting the payment of the first-fruits of archbishoprics and bishoprics to the pope, but gave the king a power to suspend the whole or any part of that act, or to confirm it by his letters patent. This act was communicated to the court of Rome; but, as it did not produce the desired effect, it was confirmed by letters patent the year after, July 9th⁴¹⁹.

Sir T.
More
resigns.

Sir Thomas More, lord chancellor, perceiving that things tended to a total breach with the church

⁴¹⁸ Burnet, p. 106—111.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid. Records, No. xli. Rolls of Parliament, 23 Hen. VIII.

of Rome, to which he was much attached, resigned his high office May 16th; and on the fourth day after, the king delivered the great seal to sir Thomas Audley, speaker of the house of commons ⁴²⁰.

A. D. 1532.

The kings of England and France concluded a treaty of more intimate alliance at London June 23d, in which they stipulated to assist one another with a certain number of forces, in case the emperor made war upon either of them ⁴²¹. Still further to increase the mutual friendship of the two monarchs, a personal interview, between Calais and Boulogn, was proposed and agreed upon, for which great preparations were made in both kingdoms. Francis entreated Henry to bring the lady Ann Boleyn to the interview, to which he consented; and that she might appear there with the greater dignity, he created her marchioness of Pembroke, and made her a grant of 1000l. a-year in land September 1st. About the same time he sent letters to many prelates, noblemen, and gentlemen, to meet him, in their best array, at Canterbury September 26th, to attend him to the continent; and with a numerous and splendid train he embarked at Dover October 11th, and landed at Calais the same forenoon. The two kings met in a valley near the marches October 21st, and proceeded to Boulogn, where Francis entertained the king and court of England in the most magnificent manner four days; and on the fifth the two kings, with their attendants, set out for Calais, where

Treaty and interview.

⁴²⁰ Rym. tom. xiv. p. 431.⁴²¹ Ibid. p. 435.

A.D. 1532.

Henry entertained the king and court of France, with equal magnificence, the same number of days. At one of the disguisings, (as they were called,) the marchioness of Pembroke danced with the king of France without her masque, and displayed the charms of her person to great advantage⁴²². After the dance he entered into conversation with her, presented her with a valuable jewel, and assured her that he would exert all his power and influence to accelerate the divorce, and her elevation to the throne⁴²³. Henry attended his royal guest October 30th, to the same place where they had met, and there they took leave of one another with the strongest professions of sincere and inviolable friendship. Being detained by storms and contrary winds at Calais, the king and his suite did not land at Dover till November 14th.

Object of
the in-
terview.

The two kings had published, with great ostentation, that the design of their interview was, to concert measures for raising a powerful army for a joint expedition against the Turks, who had invaded Hungary, and threatened Italy. In this, however, they were not believed, and certainly were not sincere. Their real intention was to alarm the emperor and the pope, that the former might no longer oppose, and that the latter might be induced to grant Henry's divorce, and to give Francis permission to tax his clergy, which he had refused. Henry, it is said, endeavoured to persuade Francis to assume the supremacy of the Gal-

⁴²² Hall, f. 106—110.

⁴²³ Garnier, *Hist. de France*, tom. xxiv. p. 459—471.

lican church, by which he would acquire a great accession both of wealth and power; but Francis rather inclined to gain the pope than to withdraw from his obedience, and was then negotiating an interview with his holiness, who was discontented with the emperor, and wished to prevail upon Henry to come to that interview. In a word, the views of the two monarchs did not exactly coincide, which counteracted their friendly dispositions, and rendered their meeting of little or no effect ⁴²⁴.

A. D. 1532.

The king of France, it is said, at the interview encouraged Henry to marry the marchioness of Pembroke, who had been so long the object of his love, without delay. However that may be, it seems to be certain that the marriage was celebrated in great privacy some time in the month of November, soon after the return of the court from Calais. Doctor Rowland Lee officiated; the duke of Norfolk, the father, mother, and brother of the royal bride, were the only witnesses. Though doctor Cranmer had about that time returned from Germany, and stood high in the king's favour, he knew nothing of this marriage till about two weeks after. If he had been consulted, it is probable he would have advised to delay it till after the divorce. The ground on which Henry now proceeded to it was this, that as the most famous universities and most learned men in Europe had declared that his former marriage had been unlawful, null, and void from the beginning, he was as much at liberty to

The king's marriage.

⁴²⁴ Garnier, Hist. de France, tom. xxiv. p. 459—471.

A.D. 1532



marry as if he had never been married⁴²³. This might be sufficient to satisfy his own mind, but was not sufficient to stop the mouths of others, or to prevent a prodigious clamour, when the marriage was made public.

A.D. 1533.
Cranmer
made arch-
bishop.

William Warham archbishop of Canterbury having died in August 1532, the king determined to raise doctor Cranmer to that high station, and sent his commands to him to return immediately into England. When Henry communicated his intention to him on his arrival, he earnestly entreated to be excused; and in this we have good reason to believe he was sincere. He had married a lady in Germany, and had brought her privately into England. He had imbibed the principles of the reformation, and had great scruples about taking the oath of canonical obedience to the pope; and he knew, that though Henry had quarrelled with the pope about the divorce, he was still firmly attached to the tenets of popery. In a word, he foresaw many dangers and difficulties from the imperious spirit of the king, and the critical state of affairs. But as Henry would admit of no excuse, he complied, and was consecrated March 13th, by the bishops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St. Asaph⁴²⁴.

Sentence of
divorce.

One of Cranmer's first cares after his advancement to the primacy was, to put an end to the long contested question of the divorce. With this view, he wrote a letter to the king April 11th, humbly beseeching him to grant a commission to him, as

⁴²³ Hall, f. 209. Burnet, p. 126.

⁴²⁴ Burnet, p. 128.

primate

primate of all England, to try that cause, and pronounce a definitive sentence. In consequence of this requisition, the king gave him a commission, "to proceed in the said cause, and to the examination and final determination of the same"⁴²⁷.

The archbishop, attended by Gardiner bishop of Winchester, the bishops of London, Lincoln, Bath and Wells, with many divines and canonists, opened his court May 10th, in the monastery of St. Peter at Dunstable, within six miles of Ampthill, where the queen resided. To this court both the king and queen had been summoned. The king appeared by proxy, but the queen made no appearance; and, after two other citations, she was declared contumacious. All the evidences that had been taken in the former trial, the determinations of the convocations of Canterbury and York, the decrees of universities, and the opinions of learned men, were laid before the court. These were read and considered at two subsequent meetings; and at last, May 23d, the archbishop, with the consent of all his assessors, pronounced a sentence of divorce, dissolving the marriage which had so long subsisted between the king and queen, and declaring that it had been null and void from the beginning⁴²⁸. In a court held at Lambeth May 28th, the primate pronounced judgment on the king's marriage with the marchioness of Pembroke, declaring it to be good and valid⁴²⁹. The

⁴²⁷ Collier, vol. ii. Records, No. xxiv.

⁴²⁸ Wilkin, Concil. tom. iii. p. 757—760. Rym. p. 462.

⁴²⁹ Burnet, p. 11. Records, No. xlvii.

A. D. 1533.

queen was crowned at Westminster June 1st, with extraordinary pomp ⁴³⁰.

The pope
reverses the
divorce.

Henry, sensible of the boldness of the steps he had lately taken, directed his ambassadors every where, and particularly at the imperial court, to take all possible pains to vindicate him, by explaining the motives of his conduct. In those courts that were little interested these explanations were well received; but the emperor answered dryly, "that he would consult with his council what was proper to be done." The news of the late transactions in England excited the most violent commotions in the court of Rome. The cardinals of the imperial party pressed the pope to avenge the insults that had been offered to his rights and dignity, by launching the loudest thunders of the church against the king and the primate, for presuming to determine a cause that was depending before his holiness. But the pope was restrained by his policy from complying with their requests and his own passions. The king of France, in order to gain the pope to his party, had proposed a marriage between Henry duke of Orleans, his second son, and Katharine de Medicis, niece to his holiness. Clement, who is well known to have had the aggrandizement of his family more at heart than the honour of the holy see, dared not to offend Francis, by treating the king of England, his most powerful ally, with severity, for fear of breaking off the proposed match. The pope therefore proceeded no further at this time, than to

reverse the sentence of divorce pronounced by the archbishop of Canterbury, and to threaten the king with excommunication if he did not restore things to their former state before September next ⁴²².

A.D. 1533.

The king endeavoured at this time to prevail upon the former queen to submit to the sentence of divorce. With this view he sent the lord Mountjoy to intimate the sentence to her, and to acquaint her that she was thenceforward to enjoy only the title and revenues of princess dowager of Wales. He was authorised to employ both threats and promises, of which he was not sparing. In particular, he promised, that if she complied with the king's will, her daughter would be put next in the succession to the issue of the present queen; and if she did not comply, she would be excluded. But nothing could prevail. The unhappy degraded queen still maintained that she was the king's only lawful wife, and that she would retain that character till she was deprived of it by the pope, before whom the cause was depending. This firmness, which was called obstinacy, drew some harsh treatment upon her, which was cruel and ungenerous ⁴²³.

Queen Catherine inflexible.

There was nothing Henry more earnestly desired, than to carry the king of France along with him in his quarrel with the court of Rome. He was far from being pleased, therefore, with the news of an intended interview between that prince and the pope. To prevent this, if possible, he sent a

Embassy.

⁴²¹ Burnet, p. 133.⁴²² Ibid. p. 132.

A.D. 1533.

splendid embassy to Francis, consisting of the duke of Norfolk, lord Rochford, sir William Pawlett, sir Anthony Brown, and sir Francis Bryan, who were instructed to dissuade Francis from the interview, or at least to prevail upon him to delay it, till the pope had done their master the king of England justice in the affair of the divorce. The ambassadors came up with the king and court of France on their way to Marseilles July 1st, and having delivered their message, Francis answered, That he was too far advanced to break or put off the interview, but that he would take the same care of their master's interests as of his own, and pressed them to accompany him, and assist at the negotiations. Lord Rochford returned to England for instructions, and Henry recalled his ambassadors; but at the earnest entreaty of Francis he sent the bishop of Winchester, sir John Wallop, and doctor Bonner, to Marseilles, to be present at the interview⁴³³. With his ambassadors he recalled his natural son the duke of Richmond, who had been about a year at the court of France.

The pope made his public entry into Marseilles with great pomp in the beginning of October, and soon after had the pleasure to marry his niece, the famous Katharine de Medicis, to Henry duke of Orleans; and she became the consort of one, and the mother of three successive kings of France. On this favourable occasion, Francis was far from neglecting the concerns of his ally the king of England; and he at length prevailed upon the pope to

⁴³³ Herbert, p. 168, 169.

promise,

promise, that if Henry would send a proxy to Rome, he would judge his cause in consistory, from which he would exclude the cardinals of the Imperial party. But the English ambassadors, knowing that their master would not submit to send a proxy, were not satisfied; and they directed doctor Bonner to procure admittance to the pope, and make the appeal he had been commissioned to make, under their direction. Bonner was a bold and forward man, ready to do any thing to procure promotion. With some difficulty he got access to his holiness November 11th; and, after a short apology, briskly told him, that he was appointed by his sovereign, the king of England, to appeal from him to the next general council, produced the appeal, and required it to be read. The reading of this instrument, which was long, and contained many severe expressions, greatly irritated the pope, who could not help discovering his anger both by his words and gestures. At the conclusion he told Bonner, he would consult the consistory, and would give him an answer next day. The answer was, That the appeal was illegal, and merited no regard⁴²⁴. The pope set out for Rome a few days after, very ill pleased with the great champion of the church and defender of the faith.

Francis was exceedingly chagrined at the unfortunate turn this affair had taken, and determined to make another effort to prevent a total and final breach between his two allies. With this view he immediately dispatched John de Bellay, bishop of

A. D. 1534.
The pope pronounces the king's first marriage good.

⁴²⁴ Burnet, vol. i. p. 134. vol. iii. p. 86—99. Records, No. xxiii. Paris,

A. D. 1534.

Paris, to London, to endeavour to persuade Henry to make some advances towards a reconciliation with the pope. That prelate executed his commission with great zeal. After several conferences he brought Henry to consent, that if the pope would supersede passing sentence against him, he would supersede withdrawing from the obedience of the holy see, till impartial judges had examined his cause. He refused, however, to give this proposal in writing, till he knew that it would be accepted. Though it was now in the depth of winter, the bishop took a journey to Rome, where he arrived before any decisive step had been taken. He laid the king's proposal before the pope and cardinals, by whom it was accepted, on this condition, That an authentic instrument of it, together with full powers to some person to appear and act in the king's name, should be produced on or before a certain fixed day, most probably the 20th of March. The courier did not arrive at the appointed day. The consistory met March 23d, at which the pope and twenty-six cardinals were present. The cardinals of the Imperial party complained that they had been abused and deceived, and insisted with great vehemence on proceeding immediately to pronounce a final sentence. The bishop of Paris pleaded earnestly for a delay of only six days, in favour of a prince who had done so much for the church of Rome, and had waited patiently no less than six years. He represented, that the courier might have been retarded by contrary winds, the overflowing of rivers, or other accidents;

A. D. 1534.

cidents; and assured them, that he would certainly arrive in a few days. The pope was ir- resolute, the majority were for proceeding, and ne- glecting several forms which would have required three consistories at least, they pronounced a sen- tence, declaring the marriage of king Henry and queen Catherine good and valid, and the issue of it legitimate. All the Imperialists in Rome were transported with joy, which they expressed by firing cannons, by lighting up bonfires, and crying in the streets, ‘The Emperor and Spain,’ as if they had obtained a great victory; while the friends of France and England were overwhelmed with astonishment and despair. Two days after, the courier arrived with every thing that was desired or expected. The pope and cardinals then saw the grievous error they had committed, which they would gladly have repaired. But it was irreparable. The sentence had been pronounced with too much solemnity, and made too public, to be reversed⁴¹⁵.

There are few passages in our history more worthy of attention than this event. Both Henry and the pope sincerely wished for a reconciliation; all who desired it thought it certain, and all who feared it, believed it to be unavoidable; and yet the court of Rome, whose interest was so deeply concerned, by one false precipitate step rendered it impracticable. Those who believe in an over- ruling Providence, and think the reformation of religion hath been a blessing to England, will grate-

Reflection.

⁴¹⁵ Memoires de Bellay, tom. ii. p. 390—394. Burnet. vol. i. p. 135. vol. iii. p. 86—99.

fully

A. D. 1534. fully acknowledge its influence on this occasion. This great revolution was brought about by those who were its greatest enemies.

Separation
of England
from
Rome.

Though Henry had entertained hopes of a reconciliation with the court of Rome, and was both surprised and enraged at the sentence pronounced against him, he was not unprepared for this unexpected rupture. He had very wisely carried the parliament, the convocation, and the great body of his subjects along with him in every step he had taken in his contest with the court of Rome, and they were all now ripe for a total breach with that court. In a session of parliament that commenced January 15th, A. D. 1534, several acts were made, which greatly diminished, or rather quite annihilated, the power and revenues of the pope in England. The act against paying first-fruits to the pope was confirmed, with great additions, regulating how archbishops and bishops were to be chosen and consecrated, without making any application to, or receiving any bulls from Rome⁴³⁶. By another act, all appeals to Rome were prohibited⁴³⁷. By a third, the payment of Peter-pence, and all payments to the apostolic chamber for dispensations and other writings, were discharged⁴³⁸. By these laws, great sums of money were annually lost to Rome and saved to England, and the English were delivered from much vexation and trouble, as well as expence, in prosecuting their causes in a foreign court, and in procuring from thence dis-

⁴³⁶ Statutes, 25 Hen. VIII. c. 20.

⁴³⁷ Ibid, c. 21.

⁴³⁸ Ibid. c. 19.

penfations, pardons, and a prodigious variety of other writings. In the fame feflion of parliament an act was made, confirming the king's divorce from queen Catherine, and his marriage with queen Anne, and fettling the fucceffion to the crown on his iffue male by his prefent, or any future queen; and failing them, on the princefs Elizabeth, (of whom queen Anne had been delivered September 7th, A. D. 1533,) who about twenty-five years after mounted the throne of England⁴³⁹. In the next feflion of this parliament, which commenced November 3d, the fupremacy of the church of England, with all its rights and emoluments, were annexed to the crown, which completed the feparation of the kingdom of England from the church and court of Rome⁴⁴⁰. A feparation which hath been of unfpeakable advantage to the former, and of no inconfiderable lofs to the latter. By another act, the parliament granted the king and his fucceffors, as fupreme heads of the church, not only the firft-fruits that had been formerly paid to the pope, but alfo a tenth of the annual revenue of all ecclefiaftical benefices, both regular and fe-
cular⁴⁴¹.

A.D. 1534.

In that feflion of this parliament which met in January, that famous impoftor commonly called the Holy Maid of Kent, who had made a mighty noife by her pretended revelations for two years paff, was found guilty of high treason, with fix of her accomplices. This young woman, whose name

Maid of Kent.

⁴³⁹ Statutes, 25 Hen. VIII. c. 22.⁴⁴⁰ Ibid. 26 Hen. VIII. c. 1.⁴⁴¹ Ibid. c. 2.

A. D. 1534.

was Elizabeth Barton, was subject to hysterical fits, in which she uttered many strange incoherent expressions. Richard Masters, parson of the parish of Aldington, in which she lived, taught her to counterfeit trances, and instructed her what to say in these trances, and to affirm that these things were revealed to her by the Holy Ghost. Her pretended prophecies were published by Masters, doctor Bocking a canon of Canterbury, and others, who were admitted into the plot, and by such as were deceived. One Deering, a monk, published a book of her revelations and prophecies, which all tended to exalt the power of the pope and clergy, and to denounce the vengeance of Heaven on all who disobeyed them. In particular, she declared, that if the king divorced queen Catherine and married another wife, he should not be king a month longer, but should die a villain's death. The monks and some of the secular clergy made the pulpits ring with these dangerous predictions, which made the king to command Barton, Bocking, Masters, Deering, and other six of her most active accomplices, to be seized. They were examined in the Star-chamber, confessed the whole plot, and were ordered to read their confessions the next Sunday at Paul's Cross immediately after sermon. They were then committed to the Tower, where they were tampered with to deny their former confessions. This induced the king to lay the affair before his parliament, and Barton, with six of the chief conspirators, were attainted of high treason, and soon after executed. Fisher,
bishop

bishop of Rochester, with five others, were found guilty of misprision of treason, their persons imprisoned, and their goods confiscated. Sir Thomas More was in danger of the same fate, but was preserved from being accused, by the influence of archbishop Cranmer and secretary Cromwell⁴⁴². The discovery of this infamous attempt to impose upon the nation, brought a great load of odium upon the monks, by whom it had been contrived and abetted, and made them meet with less pity in the distress in which they were soon after involved.

To secure the submission of all the people to the act of succession, all the members of both houses took an oath, on the last day of the session March 30th, "that they shall truly, firmly, and constantly, without fraud or guile, observe, fulfil, maintain, defend, and keep, to their cunning, wit, and uttermost of their powers, the whole effects and contents of this present act⁴⁴³." A schedule containing the subscriptions of all the members was annexed to the act, and all the subjects of lawful age were appointed to take a similar oath when required, and all who refused to take it were to be deemed guilty of misprision of treason. Commissioners were immediately appointed to administer this oath in all parts of the kingdom, and it was generally taken, both by the clergy and laity; though by many of the former with much reluctance⁴⁴⁴. But two persons of great

⁴⁴² Burnet, p. 149—154.⁴⁴³ 24 Hen. VIII. c. 21.⁴⁴⁴ Rym. tom. xiv. p. 487—528.

A.D. 1534.

Fisher and
More im-
prisoned.

reputation for their piety, virtue, and learning, bishop Fisher and sir Thomas More, refused to take it; and, as it was apprehended that their example would influence others, great endeavours were used to overcome their scruples. They were not unwilling to take that part of the oath which related to the succession, but refused to take the other part of it, which expressed an approbation of the king's divorce, and second marriage; and persisting in this refusal, they were both committed to the Tower of London in April, and very harshly treated in their confinement⁴⁴⁵. In that session of parliament which began on November 3d, they were not only excepted in an act of grace that then passed, but were attainted of misprision of treason, and all their estates, rents, and goods confiscated⁴⁴⁶. The humane archbishop Cranmer, after he had laboured earnestly to bring these two eminent persons to comply and take the oath, laboured with no less earnestness to save them from these sufferings, but in vain. The king determined to crush all opposition⁴⁴⁷.

Laws.

By one act of the session of parliament in November, the papal power was totally abolished, the king's title of supreme head on earth of the church of England was recognized and annexed to the crown, and it was declared, " that the king, " his heirs and successors, shall have full power " and authority, from time to time, to visit, re- " press, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain,

⁴⁴⁵ Burnet, vol. i. p. 155, 156.
⁴⁴⁶ Hen. VIII.

⁴⁴⁶ Rolls of Parliament,
⁴⁴⁷ Strype's Memorials of Cranmer, p. 12.

" and

“ and amend, all such errors, heresies, abuses, A.D. 1534.
 “ offences, contempts, and enormities, whatsoever
 “ they be, which by any manner of spiritual juris-
 “ diction or authority ought or may lawfully be
 “ reformed,” &c. ⁴⁴⁸ By another act it was de-
 clared to be high treason to deny or dispute any
 of the king’s dignities or titles ⁴⁴⁹. This law was
 designed to secure the king’s new title of supreme
 head of the church, and to punish such as dared
 to impugn it; and it was soon applied to that pur-
 pose. By the last act of this session, the parliament
 granted the king a tenth and fifteenth, to be paid
 in three years ⁴⁵⁰.

Henry assumed the new title of supreme head A.D. 1535.
New title.
 on earth of the church of England in great state,
 in the presence of his whole court, January 15th,
 A. D. 1535, and commanded that it should be
 added to his other titles in all courts, deeds, and
 writings ⁴⁵¹. This was far from being an empty
 title, but brought him a great accession both of
 power and revenue, and he availed himself of it
 to its utmost extent, and maintained it with so much
 jealousy, that he spared none who called it in
 question.

Bishop Fisher and sir Thomas More were still Fisher and
More be-
headed.
 prisoners in the Tower, in consequence of their
 having been attainted of misprision of treason.
 The king was irritated against them for their op-
 position to his divorce and second marriage, and
 for their correspondence with the Maid of Kent.

⁴⁴⁸ 26 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

⁴⁵⁰ Rolls, 26 Hen. VIII.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid. c. 13.

⁴⁵¹ Rym. tom. xiv. p. 549.

A.D. 1535.

He knew their attachment to the see of Rome, and that all his subjects who were zealous for the continuance of the papal power, had fixed their eyes upon them as patterns proper for their imitation. He determined therefore to make them acknowledge his supremacy, or to make them suffer, that none who opposed it might expect impunity. The two prisoners, sensible of their danger, declined giving any opinion of the king's supremacy, and avoided as much as possible all conversation on that subject. But it was often introduced by those who visited them with a design to discover their sentiments; and in spite of all their caution, they sometimes dropped expressions, which sufficiently indicated their disapprobation of the supremacy. These expressions were carefully remembered, and produced in evidence against them. Richard Rich, the king's solicitor, is said to have used very infamous arts to betray them into a discovery of their sentiments, and afterwards became the principal witness against them on their trial. Pope Pius III. who succeeded Clement VII. knowing that bishop Fisher's sufferings were owing to his attachment to the see of Rome, in order to reward his zeal, and encourage him to perseverance, created him a cardinal; imagining that Henry would not dare to proceed to extremity against a member of the sacred college. But in this infallibility he was mistaken. The bishop was brought to his trial June 17th, and being found guilty of high treason for denying the king's supremacy, he was beheaded the 22d of June, in the eightieth year of his age.

Ten

Ten days after, his friend sir Thomas More was tried for the same offence, and being found guilty, was beheaded July 6th, in his fifty-third year. His pleasant facetious humour did not forsake him in his last moments: "Assist me," said he to a friend when he was mounting the scaffold, "and let me shift for myself to get down." The executioner asking his forgiveness, he granted it, and told him with a smile, "You will get no credit by beheading me, my neck is so short." After he had laid his head upon the block, he called to the executioner to stop a little till he put his beard aside, "for that," said he, "hath committed no treason⁴⁵²." These two illustrious sufferers would have been more generally lamented, if they had not been such cruel persecutors when they were in power. Sir Thomas More, in particular, abandoned the just and liberal ideas of toleration he had published in his *Utopia*, and became ardent in the pursuit, and unrelenting in the punishment of heretics, as the favourers of the reformation were then called. But such, at the same time, was his fondness for wit, that on some occasions it overpowered his persecuting zeal. A heretic, named Silver, being brought before him, he said, "Silver, you must be tried by fire." "Yes," replied the prisoner; "but you know, my lord, that quicksilver cannot abide the fire." He was so pleased with this repartee, (which in these circumstances discovered great presence of mind,) that he set the man at liberty⁴⁵³.

⁴⁵² Burnet, vol. i. p. 354, &c. Strype's Memor. vol. i. p. 200.

⁴⁵³ *Ibid.*

A.D. 1535.

The pope
displeased.

The news of cardinal Fisher's execution excited a prodigious flame in Rome, and all the ill names recorded in history were bestowed on Henry. The pope was so much enraged, that he ordered a great number of bulls to be prepared against him: by one, he and all his accomplices were to be summoned to appear at Rome in ninety days, to answer for their conduct; by another, the king and all his ministers were excommunicated; by a third, his subjects were absolved from their oaths of allegiance; by another, the kingdom was laid under an interdict, &c. ⁴⁵⁴ But finding no catholic prince, at that time, who had leisure, inclination, and power to render these bulls effectual, by de-throning the excommunicated king, and seizing his dominions, he prudently suppressed them.

The king's
precau-
tions.

Henry having received intelligence of the pope's resentment and designs, took the most prudent precautions to prevent their success. He instructed his ambassadors in the courts of France, Germany, and Scotland, how to vindicate his conduct, in withdrawing his obedience to the see of Rome, in assuming the supremacy of the church in his own dominions, and in punishing those who refused to acknowledge his supremacy, particularly sir Thomas More and bishop Fisher, for whose execution he was most severely censured ⁴⁵⁵. To encourage and strengthen the enemies of the emperor, his most formidable adversary, he sent ambassadors, in conjunction with those of France, to negotiate an alliance with the protestant princes of Germany. But the cruel persecution of those who had em-

⁴⁵⁴ Herbert, p. 184.⁴⁵⁵ Strype's Memorials, b. i. chap. xxxii.
braced

braced the principles of the reformation both in France and England, retarded these negotiations. To secure the internal tranquillity of his dominions, and the submission of his own subjects, he employed various means. All the bishops were strictly enjoined to preach against the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome, and in favour of the king's supremacy, and to command all their clergy to preach in the same strain. The justices of the peace in every county were directed to keep a strict eye upon the clergy, and to dilate all those who neglected to obey these injunctions, or did it in a slight illusory manner. Several treatises on the same subject were published with the same view ⁴⁵⁶. That the great accession of power which the king had acquired over the clergy, both seculars and regulars, by his being declared supreme head of the church, might be exercised in the most effectual manner, he delegated it to his most active and able minister Thomas Cromwell, secretary of state, first with the title of vicar-general, and afterwards with the higher title of lord vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters ⁴⁵⁷. In consequence of this commission, Cromwell, in a short time, and with less difficulty than could have been imagined, dissolved all the numerous orders of monks and friars, in England, who were the most zealous partisans of the pope, the most determined enemies of the king's supremacy, and of all reformation. Of this great achievement a more particular account will be given in the second chapter of this book.

⁴⁵⁶ Strype's Memorials, b. i. chap. xxxvi.⁴⁵⁷ Burnet, p. 181.

A. D. 1535.

A. D. 1536.

Death of

queen Ca-

therine.

Catherine, the divorced queen, after languishing some time, died at Kimbolton January 8th, A. D. 1536, in the fiftieth year of her age. A few days before her death, she sent the following letter to the king, written by one of her female attendants :

“ My most dear lord, king, and husband,

“ The hour of my death now approaching, I cannot chuse, out of the love I bear you, but advise you of your soul’s health, which you ought to prefer before all considerations of the world or flesh whatsoever; for which you have cast me into many calamities, and yourself into many troubles. But I forgive you all, and pray God to do so likewise. For the rest, I commend unto you Mary our daughter; beseeching you to be a good father to her, as I have heretofore desired. I must intreat you also to respect my maids, and give them in marriage, which is not much, they being but three; and to all my other servants a year’s pay, beside their due; lest otherwise they should be unprovided for. Lastly, I make this vow, that mine eyes desire you above all things. Farewel ⁴⁵⁸.”

Henry, it is said, felt some compunction when he perused this letter. He took no little care, however, to get possession of her jewels and other effects, which were valued at no more than 5000 marks; and he paid little or no regard to her last will and testament ⁴⁵⁹. He had treated her rather

⁴⁵⁸ Herbert, p. 188.

⁴⁵⁹ Strype’s Memorials, vol. i. p. 340—343. Records, No. lxix, lxx, lxxi.

harshly

harshly after her divorce; and his sorrow for her death, it is probable, was neither very violent nor very lasting. If that event had happened a few years sooner, it would have given joy both at the court of Rome and the court of England, and would have prevented the rupture between them. Pope Clement often wished her in her grave.

A. D. 1536.

The emperor Charles V. earnestly desired to dissolve that intimate union which now subsisted between the kings of France and England: and as the ostensible ground of his quarrel with the last of these princes was removed, by the death of his aunt, queen Catherine, he thought this a proper opportunity to make advances towards a reconciliation. He caused his resident, therefore, at the court of England, to suggest to the English ministers, that his master was not averse to a reconciliation, upon the conditions, "that the king
" would be reconciled to the pope; that he would
" aid the emperor against the Turk; and that,
" agreeably to the treaty 1518, he would assist
" him against the French, who threatened Milan." To this it was answered, "That the first breach
" of amity proceeded from the emperor; which
" if he will acknowledge and excuse, the king is
" contented to renew it simply. As to the con-
" ditions proposed: First, The proceedings against
" the bishop of Rome have been so just, and so
" ratified by the parliament of England, that they
" cannot be revoked. Secondly, As for aid against
" the Turk, when Christian princes shall be at
" peace, the king will do therein as to a Christian

Negotia-
tion.

A D. 1536. " prince belongeth. Thirdly, For aid against
 " France, he cannot resolve on that till the amity
 " be renewed with the emperor; that so being an
 " indifferent friend to both, he may freely travel,
 " either to keep peace between them, or to aid
 " the injured party ⁴⁶⁰." This very sensible and
 spirited answer (probably suggested by secretary
 Cromwell) plainly proves that Henry had now
 resolved against a reconciliation with the court of
 Rome, and determined to preserve that complete
 sovereignty over all his subjects which he had ob-
 tained.

**Parlia-
ment.**

The last session of that long parliament which
 was first assembled November 3d, A. D. 1529,
 met at Westminster February 4th this year, and
 made several important acts. By one act, the par-
 liament dissolved all the small monasteries and
 nunneries in the kingdom, which had not each
 above 200l. a-year of clear income, and gave all
 their churches, houses, lands, plate, furniture, and
 goods of all kinds, to the king. The number of
 monasteries dissolved by this act was three hundred
 and seventy-six; the yearly rent of their lands was
 about 32,000l. which was much below their real
 value; and their cattle, plate, and furniture, at a
 very low valuation, amounted to 100,000l. ⁴⁶¹ By
 another act, Wales was more intimately united
 to England, and its inhabitants subjected to the
 English laws, or rather admitted at their own re-
 quest to the privilege of being governed by them ⁴⁶².

⁴⁶⁰ Herbert, p. 188.
 vol. iii. p. 117.

⁴⁶¹ Statutes, 27 Hen. VIII. Parl. Hist.
⁴⁶² Herbert, p. 190.

A. D. 1536.
Negotia-
tions.

The negotiations with the protestant princes of the Smalkaldic league in Germany still continued; and about this time these princes presented the following propositions to the English negotiators: 1. That the king should embrace the Augustan confession of faith, altered in some things by common consent, and defend it with them in a free council, if it should be called. 2. That neither party should consent to a council without the other. 3. That the king should join their league, and become its head and defender. 4. That the vulgar opinion of the pope's supremacy should be rejected for ever. 5. That if any of the contracting parties should be invaded for religion, the others should give no aid against him. 6. That the king should give 100,000 crowns for the defence of the league, and 200,000 if the war continued long. To these propositions this answer was returned: That the king approved of them in general with some amendments; that he accepted of the title of head and defender of the league, and would advance the money required, as soon as all the conditions were settled. He desired them to send commissioners to treat of these conditions, and some of their learned men to confer with his divines on the doctrines and ceremonies of the church ⁴⁶³. But when things were in this train, a surprising and unexpected event happened, which put a stop to these negotiations, and greatly discouraged all the promoters of reformation both at home and abroad.

⁴⁶³ Herbert, p. 192.

Henry

A.D. 1536.

The queen
sent to the
Tower.

Henry was a prince of strong impetuous passions, but at the same time fickle and capricious; passing suddenly from one extreme to another, from the warmest love to the most violent hatred, and he stuck at nothing to gratify the prevailing passion. He had surmounted many difficulties to obtain the hand of his beloved Anne Boleyn, and had lived with her in great conjugal felicity from the marriage till about the beginning of this year, when he was captivated by the charms of a young beauty of his court, Jane Seymour, daughter of sir John Seymour of Wolf-hall in Wiltshire. This new passion extinguished all his former love to his queen, which was succeeded by the most furious jealousy. The courtiers soon discovered this change in the king's affections, which gave great pleasure to the partisans of the pope, and no less pain to the friends of reformation, of which queen Anne was a zealous promoter. The queen herself was not ignorant of the king's passion for Jane Seymour, who was one of her maids of honour; but she was altogethr ignorant of his jealousy of her own conduct, till it broke upon her like a clap of thunder. On the first day of May there was a grand tournament at Greenwich, at which the king, queen, and all the court were present. In the midst of the diversion the king rose suddenly from his seat, went out, mounted his horse, and rode off, with only six persons in his company. This abrupt departure of the king excited universal surprise; but whether it was premeditated,

meditated, or occasioned by any incident that then happened, is uncertain. It is indeed related, that the queen dropped her handkerchief, and that it was taken up by one of the gentlemen of the tournament, which inflamed the king's jealousy.

A. D. 1536.

"Trifles light as air,
"Are to the jealous, confirmation strong,
"As proofs of holy writ."

However that may be, the lord Rochford, the queen's brother, three gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber, Norris, Weston, and Brereton, and Smeton a musician, were arrested early next morning and sent to the Tower. At the same time the queen was confined to her chamber. When she was informed of the cause of her confinement, she made the most solemn protestations of her innocence, and earnestly intreated to be permitted to see the king. But that was not granted. In the afternoon of the same day she was conducted to the Tower, by her uncle the duke of Norfolk, who was one of her greatest enemies on account of religion. When she entered that prison she fell on her knees, and prayed that God might so help her, as she was innocent of the crime for which she was imprisoned ⁴⁶⁴.

The unhappy queen, who on the day before had been attended by a splendid and obsequious court, and now found herself forsaken by all the world, shut up in the solitude of a prison, accused

Her behaviour.

⁴⁶⁴ Hall, f. 227. Stowe, p. 572. Herbert, p. 194. Burnet, vol. i. p. 196, &c.

of

A.D. 1536.

of a heinous crime, and threatened with a violent death, was so much affected by this great reverse of fortune, that she fell into hysterical paroxysms, which weakened both her mind and body. When she was in this deplorable situation, seized with alternate fits of weeping and laughing, very insidious arts were used to betray her into a confession of her guilt. She was assured that her brother, and the other gentlemen confined on her account, had confessed, and told that a free and full confession was the only thing that could appease the king's anger and save her life. Naturally frank and ingenuous, and having no friend to put her upon her guard, she discovered all the indiscretions she could recollect, which amounted only to certain levities in her behaviour and words, which were imprudent indeed, and unbecoming the dignity to which she was advanced, but very remote from the crime of which she was accused. All these discoveries were carried to the king, and served only to increase his suspicions and inflame his wrath⁴⁶⁵. When she had recovered a little from her first consternation, and attained to some composure of mind, she wrote a most moving letter to the king, which, for the force and justice of the expostulations it contains, and even for the elegance of its language, it is truly admirable⁴⁶⁶.

⁴⁶⁵ Burnet, vol. i. p. 197—199.

⁴⁶⁶ The reader will find a copy of this letter in the appendix. It must be confessed that the authenticity of this letter is not absolutely ascertained, as the original is not preserved. But a copy of it, it is said, was found among secretary Cromwell's papers. Herbert, p. 194.

But

But nothing could make any impression in her favour, on the cruel and obdurate heart of Henry.

A. D. 1536.

Means
used to pro-
cure evi-
dence.

Great efforts were used to prevail upon the gentlemen who were imprisoned on the queen's account, to confess their guilt and her's. Henry Norris, groom of the stole, had been long about the king's person, and possessed a considerable degree of his esteem and favour. Henry sent for him, and promised him his life, liberty, and fortune, if he would confess his own guilt, and that of the queen. Norris, who was a gentleman of spirit and honour, rejected the proposal with disdain, declaring his own innocence, and his full conviction that the queen was an innocent and good woman, and that he would suffer a thousand deaths rather than accuse an innocent person. Mark Smeton, the musician, had not the same fortitude. Upon a promise of life, (which was not performed,) he confessed that he had been guilty with the queen at three different times. A confession that was very improbable, and which few or none believed ⁴⁶⁷.

Such was the unfeeling severity of Henry to his unhappy queen, that he excluded all her relations and friends from seeing her in her confinement, and placed none about her but her open or secret enemies. This was a circumstance which distressed her greatly, and of which she complained bitterly. She often inquired for her father and mother and other near relations, but received no satisfactory answer. She earnestly intreated that

Her hard
treatment.

⁴⁶⁷ Burnet, vol. iii. p. 118.

her

A.D. 1536.

her almoner might be permitted to visit her only for an hour, and it was denied. Though many loved and pitied her, yet so well was the stern and furious spirit of the king known, that none dared to open a mouth, or offer a petition, in her favour. Henry seems to have apprehended an application of that kind from archbishop Cranmer; and therefore sent him an order to remain at Lambeth, and not approach the court till his presence was required. The good archbishop, however, ventured to write the king a letter, in which he did not indeed assert the queen's innocence, (which would probably have cost him his head,) but suggested several things that made it appear very wonderful that she was guilty⁴⁶⁸. He would, no doubt, have written in much stronger terms, but he well knew it would have only inflamed the king's rage, and ruined himself, without saving the queen.

**Trials and
executions.**

The lord Rochford and the other four prisoners were first tried, May 12th, in Westminster-hall, and were all found guilty on little or no evidence: for such was the terror the irresistible authority and vindictive spirit of the king had universally inspired, that no jury dared to acquit a prisoner he desired to see condemned. The only thing proved against lord Rochford was, that one morning he had come into the queen his sister's bedchamber before she was up, and in speaking to her, in presence of her maids, had laid his hand upon the bed. This was interpreted by the court to be a slander-

⁴⁶⁸ Burnet, vol. i. p. 200. Strype's Mem. vol. i. p. 280, &c.
ing

ing of the queen, which by a late act had been declared high treason. A cruel stretch of a most cruel statute! Rochford, Weston, Brereton, and Norris were beheaded. At their death they all vindicated their own and the queen's innocence. Smeton was hanged, and at his execution he had acknowledged he deserved his death; meaning, most probably, for his false accusation of the queen, by his confessing a crime of which he was not guilty ⁴⁶⁹.

A.D. 1536.

The queen was brought to her trial May 13th, in the king's hall in the Tower. Her own unnatural uncle the duke of Norfolk (whose zeal for popery had made him one of her greatest enemies) presided as lord high steward, and was attended by twenty-five other lords; so that one half of the peers of England, then fifty-three, were not present at this extraordinary trial. The queen was brought into the court, attended only by a few women who had been placed about her, having been denied an advocate. She made a curtsy to her judges, and behaved with great dignity and composure. Her indictment was then read: charging her "with having procured her brother " and the other four to lie with her, which they " had done often; which was to the slander of " the issue begotten between the king and her." To this it was added, but not attempted to be proved, "that she had conspired the king's " death." She pleaded Not guilty. All the evidence that was produced to prove this dreadful,

The
queen's
trial.⁴⁶⁹ Burnet, vol. i. p. 201. vol. iii. p. 119.

and

A. D. 1536.

and very improbable indictment, was a declaration of a lady Wingfield, who was in her grave, said to have been made by her a little before her death. How this declaration, or affidavit, was authenticated, we are not informed. On this evidence, if evidence it can be called, was the amiable, the lately admired and beloved queen of England, found guilty of high treason by the peers of the realm, and sentenced to be either burnt or beheaded as the king should direct. When she heard this terrible sentence pronounced, she lifted up her eyes and hands to heaven, and said, "O Father! O Creator! thou who art the way, the truth, and the life, thou knowest that I have not deserved this death!" Then turning to her judges, she said, "My lords, I will not say that your sentence is unjust; nor presume that my opinion should be preferred to the judgment of you all. I believe you have reasons and occasions of suspicion and jealousy; but they must be other than those that have been produced here in court; for I am entirely innocent of all these accusations; so that I cannot ask pardon of God for them. I have been always a faithful and loving wife to the king." After she had said this, and much more, in vindication of her own innocence, she expressed great concern for the condemnation of her brother and the other gentlemen, and wished that her death might suffice for the whole. She then took her leave of the court, and retired. The lord mayor and aldermen of London, and some others who had been admitted

to be spectators of this trial, went away with a full conviction of the queen's innocence ⁴⁷⁰.

A. D. 1536.

The queen divorced.

This unhappy princess had still another trial to undergo. Henry, not contented with her blood, determined to deprive her of the honour of having been his lawful wife, and to illegitimate her infant daughter. He knew that the earl of Northumberland had courted her, and endeavours were used to persuade that nobleman to acknowledge a pre-contract and promise of marriage. But the earl acted an honourable part, and swore before the two archbishops, and took the sacrament upon it, that there never had been any contract or promise of marriage between him and Anne Boleyn ⁴⁷¹. But the queen herself was prevailed upon, most probably to escape the flames, to acknowledge before archbishop Cranmer, May 17th, that there was a lawful impediment to her marriage with the king; upon which a sentence of divorce was pronounced, and her marriage declared to have been unlawful, null, and void from the beginning ⁴⁷². If any regard had been paid to justice or law, this sentence would have saved the queen's life: for if she had never been the king's lawful wife, she could not have been guilty of high treason by having intercourse with other men; and that was the crime for which she was condemned to die. But Henry, on this occasion, not only sacrificed the life of his

⁴⁷¹ Burnet, vol. i. p. 201. vol. iii. p. 119. ⁴⁷² Herbert, p. 195.

⁴⁷² Collier, vol. ii. p. 117. Burnet, vol. i. p. 285.

A. D. 1536.

The queen
beheaded.

queen, and the legitimacy of his child, but trampled upon all law and justice, to gratify his passions.

Little time was allowed the unhappy queen to prepare for the last scene of this cruel tragedy. In that awful interval she retained her usual serenity, and even cheerfulness, and spent several hours of the day in private devotion, or with her almoner, who was then admitted. She recollected with much concern her unkindness to the princess Mary, fell upon her knees to lady Kingston, and refused to rise till she had promised to wait on that princess, and ask her pardon⁴⁷³. On the morning of her execution, May 19th, she conversed composedly with sir William Kingston lieutenant of the Tower, and expressed some impatience for the fatal moment. "I suppose (says sir William, in a letter to Cromwell) she will declare herself to be a good woman, for all men but for the king, at the hour of her death. For this morning she sent for me, that I might be with her at such time as she received the good Lord, to the intent I should hear her speak as touching her innocence alway to be clear. I have seen many men, also women, executed, and they have been in great sorrow, and to my knowledge this lady hath much joy and pleasure in death⁴⁷⁴." About eleven o'clock she was brought to a scaffold erected on the green in the Tower. By order, all strangers had been turned out of the Tower, and there were none present but the dukes of Suffolk

473 Burnet, vol. i. p. 204.

474 Herbert, p. 195.

and

and Richmond, (the king's natural son,) chancellor Audley, secretary Cromwell, and the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London. When she mounted the scaffold, her looks were cheerful, and she never appeared more beautiful. Observing some about her weeping, she said, "Be not sorry to see me die thus, but pardon me from your hearts, that I have not expressed to all about me that mildness that became me, and that I have not done all the good that was in my power to do⁴⁷⁵." Then turning to the spectators, she said, "I am come here to die, and not to accuse any man, nor to speak any thing of that whereof I am accused. I pray God save the king, and send him long to reign over you, for a gentler and more merciful prince was there never; and to me he was ever a good, a gentle, and sovereign lord. If any person will meddle in my cause, I require them to judge the best⁴⁷⁶." Her maternal tenderness for her daughter, it is probable, induced her to speak in this strain; and as this is the speech that was published by government, we have reason to suspect that some things were omitted, and that the encomium upon the king was heightened. However that may be, it is agreed on all hands, that after a very short speech, and some pious ejaculations, her head was cut off at one blow with a sword, by the executioner of Calais, who had been brought over for that purpose. Little

⁴⁷⁵ Burnet, vol. iii. p. 120.⁴⁷⁶ Hall, f. 228.

A. D. 1536.

regard was paid to her remains, and not so much as a coffin provided. Her body was put into a chest made for holding arrows, and instantly buried in the chapel in the Tower ⁴⁷⁷.

Her character.

Thus perished Anne Boleyn, whose beauty raised her to a throne, from which the charms of another lady threw her down, and brought her prematurely to her grave. She was naturally gay and sprightly, and her education in the court of France confirmed that natural disposition. While Henry viewed her with a lover's eyes, her frankness and gaiety were agreeable; but when he had set his affections on another object, they appeared in a very different light. Her elevation had excited envy, her zeal for the reformation had created her many powerful enemies, some of them her own near relations. When these enemies perceived that the king's affections were alienated from her, they industriously informed him of every imprudent action and unguarded expression into which her natural gaiety had betrayed her, which inflamed his jealousy into rage, and made him determine her destruction. In a word, if Henry had never contracted a criminal passion for Jane Seymour, we never should have heard of the indiscretions, much less of the crimes, of queen Anne Boleyn. Nothing but her beauties and virtues, her piety, humility, and charity, would have been recorded ⁴⁷⁸.

⁴⁷⁷ Burnet, vol. i. p. 205.

⁴⁷⁸ In the last nine months of her life she distributed 14,000*l.* to the poor. Burnet, vol. i. p. 194.

It might have been imagined, that Henry would have been greatly affected by the cruel fate of one who had long been the object of his fondest affections; or that a regard to decency would have made him appear, at least, to lament her sufferings. But that was not the case. He wore white as mourning for her one day, and on the next he married her rival Jane Seymour, and in a few days after, at Whitsuntide, presented her to his whole court as his royal consort ⁴⁷⁹. The clearest indication that could be given of the cause of his late queen's calamities, and of the power of his own ungovernable passions.

A. D. 1536.
The king's
marriage.

The princess Mary and her friends, thinking this a proper time to attempt a reconciliation with her father, she wrote him a very humble and submissive letter, earnestly praying to be admitted into his presence, and received into his favour, which she at length obtained, but on very hard conditions. She was obliged to write and subscribe a paper, which, among others, contained the two following articles: "*Item*, I acknowledge the king's highness to be supreme head in earth under Christ of the church of England, and do utterly refuse the bishop of Rome's pretended authority, power, and jurisdiction, within this realm, heretofore usurped. I do also utterly renounce and forsake all manner of remedy, interest, and advantage, which I may by any means claim by the bishop of Rome's laws, process, jurisdiction, or sentence. *Item*, I do

Princess
Mary
reconciled.

⁴⁷⁹ Hall, f. 228.

A. D. 1536.

“ freely, frankly, and for the discharge of my duty
 “ towards God, the king’s highness and his laws,
 “ without other respect, recognize and acknow-
 “ ledge, that the marriage heretofore had between
 “ his majesty and my mother, the late princess
 “ dowager, was, by God’s law and man’s law, in-
 “ cestuous and unlawful⁴³⁰.” It was with much
 reluctance, and after a long struggle, that she was
 brought to make these acknowledgments in this
 authentic manner. But as nothing less would sa-
 tisfy, she at last complied.

Parlia-
ment.

A new parliament met at Westminster, June
 8th, and was opened with a speech by the lord
 chancellor Audley, full of the grossest flattery.
 After representing, in strong terms, how unhappy
 the king (who was present) had been in his two
 former marriages, which (said he) would have de-
 terred any other man from engaging again in ma-
 trimony; “ this our most excellent prince, on
 “ the humble petition of the nobility, and not out
 “ of any carnal lust or affection, had again con-
 “ descended to contract matrimony⁴³¹.” This
 was certainly a very bold stroke, when all the
 world knew that he had been only one day a wi-
 dower. It is surprising how the illustrious com-
 pany who heard it kept their countenances. If
 Henry had been possessed of any delicacy, he must
 have taken it as a cruel reproach and insult. But
 it was so well taken, that Richard Rich, speaker
 of the house of commons, repeated it; and striving

⁴³⁰ Burnet, vol. i. p. 208.⁴³¹ Journals of the House of Lords, vol. i. p. 84.⁴³² Ibid.

to outstrip the chancellor in flattery, he compared the king to Solomon for wisdom, to Sampson for strength, and to Absalom for beauty ⁴³².

A. D. 1536.

Many laws were made in this parliament; but it is only necessary to mention here, the act for regulating the succession, for which this parliament had been chiefly called. By that act the divorces of the king from his two former queens are confirmed, and their issue illegitimated, and declared incapable of inheriting the crown; which is entailed on the king's issue by his present queen, and failing of them, on his issue by any future queen; and failing of heirs of his own body, he is empowered to appoint and declare his successor, by letters patent, or by his last will ⁴³³. Such an ascendant had Henry gained over the minds of his subjects, that his will was a law, or very soon was made a law by his obsequious parliaments. The article in this act relating to the two divorces is remarkable. After enumerating at great length the grounds of the king's divorce from queen Catherine, it proceeds thus: "That whereas a marriage heretofore was solemnized betwixt the king's highness and the lady Anne Boleyn, that sithence that time certain just, true, and lawful impediments of marriage, unknown at the making of the said acts, (settling the crown on her issue,) were confessed by the said lady Anne before Thomas lord archbishop of Canterbury, by which it plainly appeareth, that the said marriage

Act of succession.

⁴³² Journals of the House of Lords, vol. i. p. 84.

⁴³³ Herbert, p. 199.

A.D. 1536.

“ betwixt his highness and the said lady Anne was
 “ never good nor consonant to the laws : and
 “ therefore his highness was lawfully divorced
 “ from the said lady Anne⁴⁸⁴.” Whether the
 parliament knew these impediments of marriage,
 which they pronounced to be just, true, and law-
 ful, or not, we are not informed ; but if they did
 know them, they did not think it prudent to let
 the world and posterity know them. There is
 something mysterious in this manner of proceeding.

Thomas Cromwell had been received into the
 king's service on the fall of his former patron car-
 dinal Wolsey, and had been successively appointed
 master of the jewel house, secretary of state,
 keeper of the privy seal, and at last the king's
 vicegerent in spirituals, a new office of great dig-
 nity and power. In all these offices he had ac-
 quitted himself with great activity, prudence, fide-
 lity, and success, by which he had acquired so
 much of the king's confidence and favour, that he
 was in reality his prime minister. Though he was
 a man of low birth, Henry thought proper to
 raise him to the peerage by the style and title of
 lord Cromwell, and he was introduced into the
 house of Peers July 19th, the last day of the par-
 liament⁴⁸⁵. This promotion was disagreeable to
 some of the ancient nobility, and to all the lords,
 bishops, clergy, and others, who were averse to
 any reformation in the church.

Insurrec-
 tion in Lin-
 colnshire.

Immediately after the parliament was dissolved,
 lord Cromwell, as the king's vicegerent in spi-

⁴⁸⁴ Herbert, p. 199.

⁴⁸⁵ Journals, vol. i. p. 101.

rituals,

rituals, engaged in a very unpopular business, the dissolution of all the smaller monasteries, to the number of three hundred and seventy-six, which had been granted to the king by parliament. The demolition of so many churches and religious houses, and the dispersion of about 10,000 monks and nuns, raised a mighty ferment. The popish clergy, and particularly the monks and friars, inflamed the passions of the people, by assuring them, that this was only a prelude to the demolition of all other monasteries and churches, and the abolition of all religion. The first gatherings of the malcontents were in Lincolnshire, in September. They were headed by doctor Mackerel, prior of Barlings, who took the name of captain Cobler. They did not immediately proceed to hostilities, but sent an humble remonstrance to the king, containing strong expressions of their loyalty, and praying for a redress of their grievances, which were these: 1. The demolition of their monasteries: 2. The employing persons of mean birth to be his ministers: 3. Levying subsidies that were not necessary: 4. Taking away four of the seven sacraments: 5. That several bishops subverted the ancient faith, &c. To this petition the king returned a spirited answer, vindicating his own conduct in all the particulars of which they complained, commanding them to deliver up their leaders, and to retire to their own homes, to preserve themselves, their wives and children, from ruin⁴⁸⁶. The duke of Suffolk, who had been dis-

⁴⁸⁶ Hall, f. 228.

A. D. 1536.

patched against them at the head of some troops, sent them this answer; and finding them more numerous and determined than he expected, he entered into a negotiation with them. Being assured by some gentlemen who were among the insurgents, and pretended to have joined them to retard their progress and distract their counsels, that if a general pardon was offered, they would disperse, he prevailed upon the king to publish such a pardon, which had the desired effect. They made their submission October 19th, and then separated⁴⁸⁷.

Pilgrimage
of Grace

A still more formidable insurrection broke out in Yorkshire and the northern counties about the same time, and on the same account. This was at first excited and directed by Robert Aske, a man of courage and prudence, who gave his undertaking the specious inviting name of The Pilgrimage of Grace. The influence and persuasions of the clergy, especially of the monks, friars, and nuns, who had been turned out of their houses, wrought so much on the ignorance, superstition, and compassion of the people, and such prodigious numbers flew to arms and joined this martial pilgrimage, that they amounted at last to forty thousand. To unite them more firmly, they took an oath and made a declaration, "That they entered into
" this pilgrimage of grace for the love of God,
" the preservation of the king's person and issue,
" the purifying the nobility, and driving away all
" base-born and evil counsellors; and for no par-

⁴⁸⁷ Hollingshed, p. 941.

" ticular

“ ticular profit of their own, nor to do displeasure
 “ to any, nor to kill any for envy, but to take be-
 “ fore them the cross of Christ, his faith, the
 “ restitution of the church, and the suppression
 “ of heretics and their opinions⁴⁸⁸.” They painted
 on their banners the five wounds of Christ, wore
 on their sleeves a device of the same kind, and
 priests marched before them carrying crucifixes,
 by which arts their zeal was much inflamed. As
 they advanced, they restored the monks to their
 monasteries, and persuaded or compelled all the
 gentlemen who did not fly, to join them. The
 archbishop of York and lord d’Arcy surrendered
 the castle of Pomfret, into which they had retired,
 and took the above oath. They failed in their
 attempts on Skipton castle, defended by the earl
 Cumberland; and on the castle of Scarborough,
 defended by sir Ralph Evers; but they took the
 town of Hull, and the city of York⁴⁸⁹.

The king and his ministers had been so much Truce.
 engaged with the insurgents in Lincolnshire, that
 those in the north met with little opposition for a
 considerable time. The earl of Shrewsbury ven-
 tured to raise his followers without waiting for or-
 ders, for which he craved the king’s pardon, who
 was so far from being offended, that he appointed
 him commander in chief in the four northern
 counties, and directed the earl of Derby to join
 him, with his friends and vassals. The marquis
 of Exeter, and the earls of Huntingdon and Rut-
 land, with their followers, took the field also

⁴⁸⁸ Burnet, vol. i. p. 229. ⁴⁸⁹ Ibid. Herbert, p. 206.

against

A. D. 1536.

against the rebels; and the king sent the duke of Norfolk, October 20th, to take the command of his army, which was still far inferior in number to that of the insurgents. The two armies approached each other at Doncaster October 26th, with only the river Don between them, which was so swelled by rains, that neither of them dared to pass it in the face of the other. The duke, to gain time till certain reinforcements, which he expected, joined him, proposed a treaty; in which it was agreed, that the insurgents should send a petition to the king by sir Ralph Elcker and master Bowes, (who had been taken prisoners at Hull,) and that the duke should also go to court to second their petition, and that there should be a cessation of hostilities till he and their messengers returned ⁴⁹⁰.

Negotia-
tion.

This agreement was very advantageous to the royalists, who wanted only time; but very fatal to the rebels, who, having expended all their money, wanted every thing. Accordingly many of them, ready to perish with cold and hunger, deserted, and returned to their own homes. When the duke arrived at court, he found the king preparing to set out, to join an army he had commanded to rendezvous at Northampton November 7th. But he convinced him that this was not necessary; that the insurgents were distressed and discontented, and daily deserting; and that a little patience and policy would put an end to the insurrection without danger or bloodshed. The truth seems to have

⁴⁹⁰ Burnet, vol. i. p. 229. Herbert, p. 206.

been,

been, that the duke, who was at the head of the popish party at court, though he acted with great honour and fidelity to the king, had a tenderness for the insurgents, and that he would have been very well pleased if they had obtained some of their petitions, particularly the disgrace of his great rival lord Cromwell. However that may be, the king took his advice, and was in no haste to dispatch him and the two messengers. A long and distinct answer was prepared to the petition presented by Elcker and Bowes, shewing the unreasonableness of their asking, and the impropriety of the king's granting, what they required. A general pardon, with the exception of six named and four unnamed, and a commission to the duke and several others, to meet with three hundred of the insurgents at Doncaster, to settle the conditions of peace, passed the seals, and were sent down with the duke in the beginning of December. We can only guess at the king's reasons for admitting so many of the insurgents to this negotiation. It was probably to give his own commissioners an opportunity of gaining or dividing them. While the duke remained at court, great numbers of the insurgents had deserted; others had obtained permission to retire, on their promise to return when called; and their army was now much diminished, and in great distress⁴⁹¹.

Lord Scroop, lord Latimer, lord Lumley, lord d'Arcy, sir Thomas Percy, Robert Aske, and about three hundred persons in all, met with the

Pacifi-
cation.

⁴⁹¹ Herbert, p. 206, &c.

duke

A. D. 1536.

duke of Norfolk and the other king's commissioners, December 6th, at Doncaster. When the duke produced the general pardon, they expressed great dissatisfaction with the exceptions it contained; and when they produced their demands, they were found to be the same with those in their petition, which, it appeared from the king's answer, could not be granted. The duke, who earnestly desired a pacification, wrote a pressing letter to the king, to send him a general pardon, without any exceptions, and a promise that the next parliament should be held in the north. The king complied with his request, and the insurgents accepted of these conditions and disbanded, in hopes of having every thing settled to their own mind in a parliament held in their own country⁴⁹¹. There are few examples in history of two such formidable insurrections in the same country at the same time, suppressed without any action, or a single drop of blood spilt in the field. It was also a most fortunate circumstance for Henry at this dangerous crisis, that the king of Scots was then in France, and that the emperor and the king of France were engaged in such violent wars, that his rebellious subjects could receive no assistance from Scotland or the Continent.

A. D. 1537.
Insurrec-
tion and
execu-
tions.

Though peace was thus outwardly restored, the king and his ministers knew, that the fire was rather smothered than extinguished, and that internal discontents still prevailed. The duke of Norfolk was commanded to remain in the north with his

⁴⁹¹ Herbert, p. 207.

troops, to preserve the peace of the country. The wisdom of this measure soon appeared. Another insurrection broke out in Cumberland in the beginning of this year. Nicholas Musgrave and Thomas Tilby, at the head of eight thousand men, besieged Carlisle, but were repulsed by the citizens, and soon after defeated by the duke of Norfolk, who, departing from his former moderation, hanged no fewer than seventy of his prisoners by martial law. Sir Francis Bigot attempted to surprise the town of Hull, but was taken and executed. The lord d'Arcy, sir Robert Constable, sir John Bulmer and his lady, sir Thomas Percy, sir Stephen Hamilton, Robert Aske, Nicholas Tempest, and William Lumley, who had been very active in the great insurrection, and had taken the benefit of the general pardon, being suspected of forming new plots, were apprehended and sent prisoners to London. The lord d'Arcy and lord Hussy (who had been concerned in the Lincolnshire insurrection) were tried by their peers in Westminster Hall, found guilty, and beheaded. The above-named gentlemen and lady, with three abbots and a prior, were all condemned and executed. Lady Bulmer was burnt in Smithfield, and Robert Aske was hung in chains on one of the towers of York. Sixty persons, who had been concerned in an insurrection, or rather a riotous tumult, in Somersetshire, were tried and put to death⁴⁹³. These numerous executions excited great terror, and suppressed that general spirit of

⁴⁹³ Stowe, p. 576. Hall, f. 232. Burnet, p. 234.

A. D. 1537.

revolt which at this time prevailed in England. Whether it could have been suppressed or not at a less expence of blood, we have not the means of judging.

Prince Edward born.

Queen Jane Seymour's natural disposition was more agreeable to the humour of her royal husband, than that of his two former queens, being not so grave as queen Catherine, nor so gay as queen Anne. Not long after her marriage, she afforded him the prospect of legitimate issue, which of all things in the world he most earnestly desired; and on October 12th she was safely delivered of a prince at Hampton Court. The king was transported with joy at this event, and all his loyal subjects shared in his joy; as by the birth of a prince they were delivered from the danger of a disputed succession, one of the greatest calamities that can befall a nation, with which they had long been threatened. The prince was baptised with extraordinary pomp October 15th, and named Edward. Archbishop Cranmer and the duke of Norfolk were the godfathers, and the princess Mary godmother; and the king, to shew his affection, created him prince of Wales a few days after his baptism⁴⁹⁴.

The queen dies.

But the joy occasioned by the birth of the prince was soon checked, and converted into mourning, by the death of the queen, who expired October 24th, twelve days after her delivery. Happy in this, that she did not survive the love of her too

⁴⁹⁴ Strype's Mem. vol. ii.

inconstant consort, who appeared to be greatly affected by her death ⁴⁹⁵. A. D. 1537.

The negotiations for an alliance and confederacy between the king and the protestant princes of Germany, still continued, but advanced very slowly. The objects which the contracting parties had in view were not the same. The protestant princes, it is true, wished to strengthen their confederacy by the accession of so great a prince; but their chief object seems to have been, to promote the reformation of religion, and to bring the church of England to a conformity in doctrine and worship with their own churches. But this was far from being Henry's intention. He was an enemy to the political power, but not to the religious rites and tenets of the church of Rome; and his only object in desiring an alliance with the German prince was, to raise up enemies to the emperor, to prevent his making any attempt on England, of which the pope had made him a present. Knowing that the confederates were to have a meeting in March this year at Brunswick, he sent an ambassador to that meeting to inquire who had joined the confederacy; whether their league was for general opposition to the emperor, or limited to religion only; and whether they designed to send him a great legation, with some of their divines, and particularly Melancthon, as they had once promised. The ambassador was informed, that twenty-six cities, and twenty-four princes, of which the king of Denmark was one, had joined the confederacy;

A. D. 1538.
Negotia-
tion.

⁴⁹⁵ Strype's Mem. vol. ii.

A. D. 1538.

deracy; that their league was limited to the cause of religion; that they could not send their great legation and their divines till they were better informed of the sentiments of the king of England, and knew what points of their confession he disapproved; but that they would send an ambassador and two or three learned men to converse with the English divines, and procure more perfect information of the king's sentiments, and the state of religion in England. Accordingly Francis Barget and two men of learning were sent. They were received with civility, and certain bishops were appointed to confer with them. These conferences continued several months, and they came to an agreement in some things, but in others they could not agree, particularly concerning the communion in one kind, private masses, and the celibacy of the clergy, from which the bishops would not depart. The German deputies returned home with no very favourable account of the state of religion in England, which had put a stop to the negotiation ⁴⁹⁶.

Pope's
bulls.

The suppression of the late insurrections, and the birth of a son and heir to his dominions, were two very fortunate events for Henry, and they happened at the most convenient season. Things now began to wear a threatening aspect on the continent. The pope, after many fruitless efforts to extinguish the flames of war between the emperor and the king of France, had at last succeeded, and a ten years truce was concluded between them,

⁴⁹⁶ Herbert, p. 212. Strype, vol. i. b. i. c. 43.

A. D. 1538.

June 28th, by his mediation; and these two monarchs had a personal interview July 15th, in which they appeared to be perfectly reconciled. This encouraged the pope to publish the bulls which he had prepared three years before, excommunicating and deposing Henry, in hopes that these two princes would put them in execution. But these two great rivals had not such confidence in one another as to embark in a joint enterprise of that kind, and the one would not permit the other to make so great a conquest. Beside, Henry's authority was so firmly established by the suppression of the late insurrections, and the birth of an heir, that the success of any attempt against him was very doubtful ⁴⁹⁷.

Another formidable enemy to Henry appeared upon the stage about this time. This was Reginald Pole, fourth son of Margaret countess of Salisbury, daughter of George duke of Clarence, second brother to Edward IV., and consequently the king's near relation. He early discovered a taste for letters, and was educated at Henry's expense at Paris and at Padua, and designed for the highest preferments in the church. But in Italy he imbibed opinions, and formed connexions, which determined him to take a decided part against his king, his relation, and benefactor, in his controversies with the court of Rome. He wrote a treatise "of the unity of the church," and sent it to Henry; and afterwards published it to the world, in which he condemned his divorce

Cardinal Pole.

⁴⁹⁷ Herbert, p. 216.

A. D. 1538.

and second marriage in the strongest terms, and even exhorted the emperor to avenge the injury that had been thereby done to his aunt, and to the authority of the pope. Henry, concealing his resentment, invited him into England, to explain some parts of his book, which he pretended he did not understand. But Pole very prudently declined putting himself in the power of a prince he had so highly offended. The pope, to inflame his zeal and increase his influence, made him a cardinal, and appointed him his legate *a latere* in Flanders, that he might foment divisions, and excite insurrections in England, by corresponding with his numerous and powerful friends. In this he was very active and too successful. Two of his own brothers, and several other persons of rank, were drawn into a conspiracy, which was discovered, and proved their ruin. Henry Courtney, first-cousin to the king; the marquis of Exeter, and earl of Devonshire; Henry Pole lord Montacute, and sir Jeffrey Pole, the cardinal's two brothers; sir Edward Nevil, brother to the lord Abergavenny, and sir Nicholas Carew, master of the horse, and knight of the garter; with several persons of inferior rank, were made prisoners November 3d, and soon after tried and found guilty of high treason. They were all executed, except sir Jeffrey Pole, who, it is said, betrayed and accused his confederates⁴⁹⁸. This was a great discouragement to the popish party. They knew not whom to trust, and saw how dangerous it

⁴⁹⁸ Hall. f. 233. Stowe, p. 576. Herbert, p. 216.

was to plot against a government so vigilant and so vindictive. Two priests and a mariner were condemned and executed on the same occasion, for managing, as it is probable, the correspondence between the cardinal and the conspirators⁴⁹⁹. It is impossible to discover with certainty the object of this conspiracy, or the crimes for which these noblemen and gentlemen suffered. The accusations against them, we are told, were great; and that they had a design to promote and maintain one Reginald Pole, the king's enemy beyond sea, and to deprive the king of his crown⁵⁰⁰. This makes it probable that they were suspected at least of a design to raise the cardinal to the throne, by a marriage with the princess Mary, for which they would have easily obtained a dispensation from the pope.

A. D. 1538.

A new parliament met at Westminster April 25th, A. D. 1539, and was opened with extraordinary pomp. The king and all the members of the two houses rode in state, two and two, from the palace to Westminster Abbey, heard the mass of the Holy Ghost, and returned in the same state and order to the parliament chamber⁵⁰¹. This parliament, which commenced with so much pomp, proceeded with the most abject servility, and enacted, both in spirituals and temporals, whatever the king and his ministers pleased to dictate. By the act of the six articles, commonly called the Bloody Statute, they established the most absurd and pernicious tenets of popery, and authorised a perse-

A. D. 1539.
Parliament.

⁴⁹⁹ Hall, f. 233. Stowe, p. 576.

⁵⁰⁰ Herbert, p. 216. Parliament. Hist. vol. iii. p. 141.

⁵⁰¹ Dugdale's Summons to Parliament, p. 502.

A. D. 1539.

cution of those who denied them, more cruel in some respects than the Spanish inquisition⁵⁰². By another, they granted the king all the lands, rents, buildings, jewels, money, gold and silver plate, furniture, goods and chattels of all kinds, of all monasteries, abbeys, nunneries, priories, houses of friars, colleges, free chapels, hospitals, chantries, and houses of religion, dissolved or to be dissolved. By this prodigious grant the king obtained possession of the lands which had belonged to six hundred and forty-five monasteries, ninety colleges of priests, one hundred and ten hospitals, two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free chapels. The yearly rents of these lands amounted to 161,100l.⁵⁰³ But this was not one half, probably not one third of their annual value, as their former owners had been accustomed to let their lands at very low rents, and to levy large fines on the renewal of their leases. The value of the jewels, money, plate, cattle, furniture, &c. belonging to these religious houses was immense; and the whole, if it had been properly managed, was sufficient to have rendered the crown independent of the country. But Henry was as profuse as he was rapacious, and the very next year was reduced to the necessity of asking a subsidy from his subjects. By another statute, they gave the same force and authority to royal proclamations as to acts of parliament, thereby rendering all future parliaments, for the purpose of making laws, unnecessary⁵⁰⁴.

⁵⁰² Herbert, p. 219.⁵⁰³ Ibid. p. 278. Statutes,

31 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

⁵⁰⁴ Journals, 31 Hen. VIII.

This

A.D. 1539.
 Attainders
 and execu-
 tions.

This parliament discovered as great forwardness in gratifying the resentment, as the avarice and ambition of the king. A bill was brought into the house of peers by Thomas lord Cromwell, (who had now the highest seat in the house assigned him by a special act,) May 10th, for attainting the late marquis of Exeter, lord Montacute, sir Edward Nevil, and others, which passed both houses with great rapidity⁵⁰⁵. Next day lord Cromwell produced in the house a tunic of white silk, with the arms of England on the fore-part, and the device of the late insurgents in the north on the back-part, which had been found among the clothes of the countess of Salisbury by the lord admiral⁵⁰⁶. Upon this, Margaret countess of Salisbury; Gertrude marchioness of Exeter; sir Adrian Fortescue, and sir Thomas Dingley; and cardinal Pole, son to the countess; were attainted of high treason, though no particulars of their guilt, or of the proceedings against them, are recorded in the Journals. The two knights were executed, the marchioness was pardoned, and the countess was respited⁵⁰⁷.

Prepara-
 tions of
 war.

The report of so many executions, and of the dissolution of so many monasteries in England, made a mighty noise on the continent. Not only the pope, but both the emperor and the king of France were shocked at the violence of these proceedings; and as these two princes seemed to be perfectly reconciled, Henry began to be apprehensive of an invasion. To be prepared for such

⁵⁰⁵ Journals, 31 Hen. VIII.

⁵⁰⁶ Herbert, p. 219. Hall, f. 234.

⁵⁰⁷ Rym. tom. xiv. p. 652.

A.D. 1539.

an event, he went to Dover, and ordered the fortifications of it to be repaired; visited the sea-coast, and directed bulwarks to be erected in various places; commanded his fleet to be made ready for sea, and sent commissions into every county to array all the men capable of bearing arms. He reviewed the militia of London May 8th, which made a most splendid appearance⁵⁰⁸. The parliament was adjourned, that the members might be present at this fine show. But this was a false alarm. These princes had other objects in view, and were not prepared for such an undertaking.

The king's
marriage.

Henry had now been more than a year a widower, and in that time had been engaged in several treaties of marriage, particularly in one with the duchess dowager of Milan, and in another with Mary of Guise, who married his nephew James V. of Scotland. Lord Cromwell wished to see him united with a protestant princess, and recommended Anne, sister to the duke of Cleves, who was reported to be a beauty, of which he knew Henry to be a great admirer. Cromwell was then a mighty favourite, having been lately admitted a knight of the garter, and created earl of Essex, and his recommendation was too successful. The preliminaries were soon adjusted, though one difficulty occurred. There had been a treaty of marriage begun between the lady Anne and the prince of Lorrain; and it became a question how far that treaty had proceeded. But the duke of Cleves and his ministers affirmed, that there had been no contract or espousals; and of this they promised

⁵⁰⁸ Hall, f. 235.

to produce sufficient proof; on which the terms of the king's marriage with her were settled. She was brought over from Calais by the earl of Southampton with a fleet of fifty sail, and landed at Deal December 27th, and by slow journies, and with a degree of expence and pomp unknown in modern times, conducted to Greenwich, where the royal nuptials were solemnized January 6th, with extraordinary festivity and splendor⁵⁰⁹.

A.D. 1539.

But in the midst of all these outward appearances of joy and triumph the king was devoured by inward chagrin and discontent. Impatient to see his future queen, he had gone incognito to Rochester January 2d, and had a sight of her without his being known. But she appeared to him very different from what she had been represented by her picture, and the descriptions he had received of her person; and he expressed his aversion and disgust to those about him in very strong but indelicate terms. He made himself known to her however, and received her with civility and even seeming kindness. But her conversation did not compensate for the deficiency of her personal charms. She understood no language but her native German, had no knowledge of music, in which he delighted, and he perceived that she would prove a very insipid companion. He entertained some thoughts therefore of sending her back unmarried. But upon further consideration, this appeared to be a very dangerous measure in his present circumstances. The emperor had lately passed through France, had spent some time

A.D. 1540.
Henry dis-
contented.

⁵⁰⁹ Hall, f. 238—242. Herbert, p. 223.

with

A. D. 1540.

with the king at Paris, and he strongly suspected that these two monarchs had formed some designs against him at the instigation of the pope. He knew that many of his own subjects were disaffected, and he entertained strong suspicions of the designs of his nephew the king of Scotland, who had lately assumed the title of Defender of the Christian Faith. To have sent back the sister of the duke of Cleves, and the sister-in-law of the elector of Saxony, the most powerful prince in the Smalcaldic league, would have deprived him of all hopes of an alliance with that league, and left him exposed to the assaults of his most formidable neighbours, without a single ally. He resolved therefore to proceed to the marriage, though with extreme reluctance. But his aversion and dislike became greater after marriage than it had been before. Being asked by Cromwell next morning, if he now liked the queen better than he did before; he answered: "Nay, much worse; for that having found by some signs that she was no maid, he had no disposition to meddle with her¹¹⁰." He carefully concealed this secret for some time, and continued to treat her, in public, with every proper mark of attention and regard.

Parliament.

The parliament, after two prorogations, met at Westminster April 12th. This was the first session of the English parliament to which no abbots or priors were summoned, as all their monasteries were now dissolved, and their baronies annexed to the crown, which very much diminished the number and the influence of the spiritual lords in that

¹¹⁰ Herbert, p. 282.

assembly.

assembly. The session was opened with a speech by the lord chancellor Audley, in which he acquainted them that this parliament had been at first called, and was now again assembled, to promote the glory of God, the honour of the king, and the happiness of the kingdom. A.D. 1540.

It soon appeared, that the parliament was assembled at this time for a very unexpected purpose, of which the chancellor took no notice. That purpose was, to obtain a subsidy; though that same parliament had been told only about a year before, that if they granted the king all the possessions of all the monasteries, (which they did,) neither he nor any of his successors would have occasion to demand any subsidies from their subjects⁵¹¹. A bill however for granting the king one tenth and one fifteenth was brought into the house of commons early in the session. This must have excited great surprise. What was become of all that wealth so lately granted to the crown, which was to enrich it for ever, and put an end to all subsidies? This most shameful demand was not rejected; we are not even certain that it met with any opposition. This we know, that the bill was brought into the house of lords May 10th, read only once, and passed with the assent and consent of all who were present, and so was expedited and concluded⁵¹². Party rage hath often clogged the wheels of government, and created opposition to the most salutary measures. But in this reign it had a contrary effect, and procured the most

⁵¹¹ Coke's 4 Institute, f. 44.

⁵¹² Journals, vol. i. p. 135.

unanimous

A. D. 1540.

unanimous consent to the most exorbitant demands. This seems to have been owing to the great power and awful character of the king, and to the earnest desire of each of the two parties, the protestants and papists, to gain him to their side, which they knew could only be done by a blind compliance with his will. The clergy were no less complaisant and generous to the king than the laity. The convocation of Canterbury made him a free gift of four shillings in the pound of all their ecclesiastical revenues, and the convocation of York followed their example⁵¹³. But though these grants passed in the parliament and convocation with great seeming unanimity, they were very far from being agreeable either to the clergy or laity; and they brought a great load of popular odium upon Cromwell, to whom they were imputed.

**Knights of
St. John
dissolved.**

Henry's avarice was not yet satiated, nor the parliament weary of granting: for at the same time they dissolved the order of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem in England, and granted all their houses, lands, and goods to the king⁵¹⁴. The reasons assigned for this, we are told, were these: "Because they drew yearly great sums out of the kingdom, supported the usurped power of the pope, had lost the island of Rhodes to the Turks, and because their revenues might be better employed"⁵¹⁵.

**Cromwell
imprisoned.**

These measures, though they were approved by parliament, were exceedingly unpopular, and ex-

⁵¹³ Wilkin. Con. vol. iii. p. 250.

⁵¹⁴ Journals, p. 136.

⁵¹⁵ Herbert, p. 224.

cited universal murmurs against the king and his favourite Cromwell. But Cromwell was no longer a favourite. He had been the proposer and promoter of the late joyless marriage with Anne of Cleves; and Henry, who was naturally fickle and impetuous in all his passions, began, about this time, to cast an amorous eye on Catherine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk, which gave that duke, and the other heads of the popish party, great influence at court. By their whispers and misrepresentations of Cromwell's words and actions, the king's friendship for him was quite extinguished, and he abandoned him to the malice of his enemies. He was accused of high treason at the council-board June 10th by the duke of Norfolk, and immediately committed to the Tower ³¹⁶.

A. D. 1540.

Thomas lord Cromwell, earl of Essex, knight of the garter, lord chamberlain, and the king's vicegerent in spirituals, who a few weeks before had a place assigned him by act of parliament above all the spiritual and temporal peers of England, was carried from his seat in the council chamber Westminster, through the streets of London, to the Tower, at three o'clock in the afternoon June 10th, forsaken by all his friends, and followed by a prodigious crowd of people, hissing and cursing the fallen minister. The violence of Henry's passions was so well known, that none dared to plead the cause of one who had become the object of his anger, except the archbishop of Canterbury. That humane and generous prelate,

Cromwell
attainted.

A. D. 1540.

though he knew his danger, wrote a long letter to the king, in which he enumerated the many great and good qualities of the degraded minister, and represented in very strong terms the great improbability, or rather impossibility, that one who loved his king as he loved his God, who had served him so long with so much fidelity, zeal, and success, who depended so entirely upon him, and had received so many benefits from him, could be guilty of high treason. He even went so far as to say, "He was such a servant, in my judgment, in wisdom, diligence, faithfulness, and experience, as no prince in this realm ever had"⁵¹⁷.

But this letter had no effect. Cromwell's destruction was determined. A bill of attainder against him for high treason was brought into the house of lords June 17th, which is thus slightly mentioned in the Journals: "To-day was read the bill of attainder of Thomas earl of Essex"⁵¹⁸. On the 19th of June this bill was read a second and a third time, and passed, with the common consent of all who were present, not one contradicting, and sent to the commons⁵¹⁹. We have not the least hint in the journals of any witnesses having been examined, or of there having been any debate on this bill, in the house of lords. It seems to have met with opposition in the house of commons, though we know not the particulars; for we hear no more of it till June 29th, when, among other bills returned from the commons, is mentioned, "A bill of attainder of Thomas

⁵¹⁷ Herbert, p. 223.⁵¹⁸ Journals, p. 145.⁵¹⁹ Ibid. p. 146.

" Cromwell, earl of Essex, for the crimes of heresy
 " and high treason, formed anew by the com-
 " mons, and passed, with a provision annexed;
 " which bill was read a second and third time, and
 " the provision concerning the deanry of Wells
 " was read three times, and passed. At the same
 " time was returned with it the bill of attainder
 " that had formerly been sent to the house of com-
 " mons ⁵²⁰." It appears therefore to have been
 the bill of the commons that finally passed both
 houses. The preamble to that bill begins thus:
 " That the king having raised Thomas Cromwell
 " from a base degree to great dignities and high
 " trusts, yet he had now, by a great number of
 " witnesses, persons of honour, found him to be
 " the most corrupt traitor and deceiver of the king
 " and the crown that had ever been known in his
 " whole reign ⁵²¹." It was the king then, or
 rather the prevailing party in his council, that
 found Cromwell to be so great a traitor, and that
 on the testimony of witnesses that are not named.
 Then a long enumeration of his heresies and trea-
 sons follow in the act, and they are such as these:
 That he had permitted people to go out of the
 kingdom without being searched; that he had given
 some commissions without the king's knowledge;
 that he had dispersed heretical books, licensed he-
 retical preachers, checked informers against here-
 tics, and infected many of the king's subjects with
 heresy; that being a man of low birth he had amassed
 a great estate, and treated the nobility with con-

⁵²⁰ Journals, p. 149.⁵²¹ Burnet, p. 278.

A. D. 1540.

Cromwell
beheaded.

tempt. For these and some vain passionate speeches he was attainted to suffer the pains of death for heresy and treason, as should please the king⁵²².

After this act of attainder had passed both houses, and received the royal assent, Cromwell wrote several letters to the king imploring mercy. With one of these, it is said, he was much affected, commanded it to be read to him three times, and seemed to be on the point of relenting. But the charms of Catherine Howard, and the importunities of Norfolk and Gardiner, at length prevailed; all thoughts of mercy were stifled, and an order given for beheading him on Tower-hill July 28th, which was executed⁵²³. Thus fell Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, a sacrifice to the passions of a capricious tyrant, to whom he had been too obsequious. He was certainly one of the greatest and most extraordinary men of the age in which he flourished, and (if we may believe that excellent prelate archbishop Cranmer, who was a very capable judge, and knew him well) one of the wisest and most upright ministers that had ever served a king of England. His astonishing rise, from one of the lowest ranks in society to a very uncommon degree of honour, power, and riches, without the advantage of education, seems to be a sufficient indication of his abilities; and the very accusations brought against him by the ingenuity and malice of his enemies, are such, that they afford a strong presumptive proof of his prudence and integrity.

⁵²² Burnet, p. 278.⁵²³ Ibid. p. 284.

A. D. 1540.

Commis-
sion to try
the king's
marriage.

As soon as Henry had got his minister attainted, he proceeded to get his queen divorced; and he found his parliament as obsequious in the one as they had been in the other. A motion was made in the house of lords, July 6th, by the chancellor, lord Audley, "That an humble address be presented to the king, that he would be graciously pleased to grant a commission to the convocation of both provinces, to try the validity of his present marriage, and that application be made to the commons for their concurrence." This motion was unanimously approved. A deputation was sent to the commons, who readily agreed to join in the address. The whole house of lords, with about twenty of the commons, immediately went to court, and being admitted into the royal presence, the lord chancellor said, "That the two houses of parliament wished to mention a matter of great moment to his majesty, and humbly prayed, that his most excellent serenity, out of his inestimable goodness, would grant them his permission." To which the king replied, "That he had so good an opinion of his two houses of parliament, that he was convinced they would not propose any thing that was iniquitous, dishonest, or unreasonable; and therefore he permitted them to speak with impunity, and promised to hear them benignly and favourably." The lord chancellor then presented the above address. To which the king made answer, "That though the matter was of very great moment, yet he could not deny them, nor refuse to

A. D. 1540.

“ commit the affair of his marriage to the convocation of both provinces ; in which he believed
 “ there were as many grave, learned, honest, and
 “ pious men as in any part of the world, and did
 “ not doubt but their decision would be just, equitable, and holy ; and commanded letters patent
 “ to be made out for that purpose. He further
 “ called God to witness, that he would conceal nothing that could contribute to discover the truth ;
 “ and that he had nothing at heart but the glory of
 “ God, the good of the kingdom, and the freedom and majesty of justice.” Then the nobles, after a more than a most humble salutation, retired³²⁴. This was a very splendid piece of political mummery, and was, no doubt, conducted with all becoming gravity.

The king's
divorce.

On the same day, July 6th, the promised commission passed the seals, and was next morning presented to the convocation at Saint Paul's. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, made a long harangue to both houses ; in which he enumerated the various doubts that were entertained concerning the validity of the king's marriage. The convocation then appointed a committee of six bishops and twelve members of the lower house, to examine witnesses, and to procure all the information they could, and to lay it before the next meeting, between six and eight o'clock next morning, to which they adjourned. The committee spent that afternoon in taking the evidence of the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the other great officers of the

³²⁴ Journals, vol. i. p. 153.

crown, and two of the king's physicians. Next morning the bishop of Winchester laid all the evidences, with certain instruments relating to the marriage, before both houses. The convocation, after spending a considerable time in reading these instruments and evidences, and deliberating on the merits of the cause, adjourned to three o'clock in the afternoon. At that meeting the archbishop of Canterbury, with the assent of all the members of both houses, pronounced the sentence of divorce; declaring the marriage of the king and Anne of Cleves unlawful, and that both parties were at liberty to marry elsewhere. The convocation then appointed the former committee to prepare an instrument of the divorce in due form, to be presented to the king, and adjourned to the next day. The committee, on that day, July 9th, laid before the convocation the instrument of the divorce; containing the grounds on which the sentence was founded, which were these: 1. Because there had been a treaty of marriage between the lady Anne and the prince of Lorrain, which perhaps proceeded to a contract, and renders your majesty's marriage with that lady doubtful and perplexed. 2. Because your majesty was betrayed into that marriage by flattering descriptions of the lady's beauty, which were false. 3. Because your majesty never gave your entire hearty consent to that marriage, but entered into it with great inward reluctance. 4. Because your majesty had not consummated, and neither will nor can consummate that marriage by the *carnalis copula*. 5. Because

A. D. 1540.

it will be a great advantage to the kingdom, that your majesty be set at liberty to contract a marriage with some other lady. For all these causes together, and for each of them separately, the convocation declared the king's marriage with Anne of Cleves unlawful, null, and void; and that he was at liberty to contract another marriage⁵²⁵. How trivial, or rather how ridiculous, are the causes assigned for their sentence by this venerable assembly! How surprising the unlimited ascendant that this prince possessed over the minds of his subjects in parliament and convocation! He could desire nothing of these great assemblies, however unreasonable, that they did not grant with perfect unanimity and seeming alacrity.

Confirmed
by parlia-
ment.

This sentence of the convocation was reported, July 10th, to the house of lords first, by archbishop Cranmer and the bishop of Winchester, and the lords sent these two prelates to communicate it to the house of commons. It was very agreeable to both houses; for on Monday July 12th, a bill for annulling the king's marriage was brought into the house of lords, and the next day passed that house, and was sent to the commons, who passed it with equal expedition⁵²⁶. This bill, with many others, received the royal assent July 24th, the last day of this parliament, in which (as we learn from the last article in the Journals) there had not been any difference of opinion on any subject in the house of lords during the whole session⁵²⁷. A thing that

⁵²⁵ Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 851—855. Strype, vol. i. Records, p. 306—315. ⁵²⁶ Journals, vol. i. p. 155. 157. ⁵²⁷ Ibid.

could not have happened if there had been any freedom of debate.

A. D. 1549.

Communicated to the queen.

When these transactions (which had been carefully concealed from her) were communicated to the divorced queen, by the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Southampton, she was not so much affected as might have been expected; and when they told her that the king designed to declare her his adopted sister, to grant her 3000*l.* a year for her honourable support, and to give her precedence of all the ladies of the court, except his queen and daughters, she seemed to be perfectly satisfied. At Henry's desire, she even wrote to her brother and her family, assuring them that she had been well used in England, where she resolved to remain; that she was perfectly pleased with her situation, and intreated them not to be offended at any thing that had happened ⁵²⁸.

King's marriage.

If Henry was impatient to be divorced from one lady, he was no less impatient to be united to another. His marriage with Catherine Howard, daughter of lord Edmond Howard, and niece to the duke of Norfolk, was celebrated privately, and the exact date of it is not known; but she was presented August 8th to the whole court as queen ⁵²⁹. The king was so much charmed with his new comfort, that he commanded his almoner to compose a form of thanksgiving to God, for the felicity he enjoyed in her society; and on All-Saints day, when he received the sacrament, he publicly gave thanks to God for the happy life he now led, and

⁵²⁸ Burnet, vol. i. p. 282.

⁵²⁹ Hall, f. 2. 43. Stowe, p. 581.

A. D. 1540.

hoped to lead, with his beloved queen⁵³⁰. But this extraordinary felicity, of which he was so ostentatious, was not of long duration.

A. D. 1541.
Countess
of Sarum
beheaded.

Much blood was shed on the scaffold, and many persons of different ranks were executed in England this year; some on a civil, and others on a religious account. The most illustrious of these sufferers was the aged countess of Salisbury, Margaret, daughter of George duke of Clarence, second brother of Edward IV. mother of cardinal Pole, and the last of the royal race of the Plantagenets. This venerable matron, descended from so long a line of kings, had been attainted by parliament A. D. 1539, and had been kept in prison ever since. Disregarding her sex, her age, and her royal descent, she was brought to a scaffold in the Tower May 27th, to be beheaded, where, though in her seventieth year, she behaved with great spirit and magnanimity. When she was desired to lay her head upon the block, she obstinately refused, saying, "I am no traitor; I have done nothing to deserve death; if you will have my head," shaking her gray locks, "you must get it as well as you can." In consequence of this, she was butchered rather than beheaded⁵³¹. What provoked Henry to this act of cruelty it is impossible to discover. She was perhaps suspected of exciting a trifling insurrection in the north, which was instantly suppressed; or of corresponding with her son the cardinal. But the truth is, we are much better informed of the punishments

⁵³⁰ Burnet, p. 371.

⁵³¹ Herbert, p. 227.

than

than of the crimes of many eminent persons in this reign. A. D. 1541.

That warmth of friendship which had long subsisted between the kings of France and England was now much abated; owing to various causes, but chiefly to the artifices of the emperor, who had long laboured to create a misunderstanding between them. Henry apprehended an attack upon his territories in France, and was at no little expence in repairing the fortifications, and strengthening the garrisons of Calais and Guisnes. But as both these princes wished to avoid an open rupture at this time, they appointed commissioners to meet and settle the disputes that had arisen upon the marches, which were but trifling ³²².

Treaty.

There was nothing Henry more earnestly desired than to gain the friendship and confidence of his nephew, James V. of Scotland. With this view he had solicited an interview with him at York, to which, it is said, James consented. Henry therefore, with his queen and court, set out on a progress into the north in the beginning of August, and in his way visited those parts of the country where the late insurrections had chiefly prevailed. He was every where received with the greatest demonstrations of joy, and the strongest expressions of loyalty; and the more effectually to conciliate his favour, and efface the remembrance of their former conduct, the towns, the nobility, and the clergy, presented him with considerable sums of money, according to their abilities. On the borders of Yorkshire he was met by two hundred gen-

Progress.

³²² Hall, f. 243.

A. D. 1541.

gentry, who fell upon their knees, and by the mouth of sir Robert Bowes, made their submission, and presented him with 900*l*. The archbishop, at the head of three hundred priests, met him three miles from York, and made him a present of 600*l*. These were valuable presents in those times; but this mighty monarch did not disdain to accept of 20*l*. from the town of Stamford⁵³³. The king and court of England remained twelve days at York, expecting the arrival of the king of Scotland. But that prince was persuaded, or rather bribed, by his clergy to stay at home. Henry was greatly irritated at this disappointment, and returned into the south, fully determined on a war with Scotland.

Inform-
ation
against the
queen.

The death of Cromwell, the king's matrimonial connection with the family of Norfolk, and his excessive fondness for his queen, had filled the popish party with the most sanguine hopes, and the friends of the reformation with the most alarming fears. But an unexpected discovery was now made, which blasted the hopes of the one, and dispelled the fears of the other. When the king was in the north, one John Loffels came to the archbishop of Canterbury, and made a discovery of the queen's lewdness before her marriage, which he said had been communicated to him by his sister, who had been a servant in the family of the old duchess of Norfolk, in which the queen resided. According to his account she had conducted her criminal intercourse with two gentlemen, Mannoc and Derham, (who held offices in the family,) with so little secrecy, that her guilt was notorious, and could be

⁵³³ Hall, f. 244.

clearly

clearly proved. Particularly, that three different female servants had at different times and frequently slept all night in the same bed with her and Derham, and had told this to his sister and the other servants; and that Mannoc discovered such an intimate knowledge of her person to some of his fellow-servants, as he could not have obtained without the most indecent and criminal familiarity. The archbishop wrote the particulars of this information, and communicated them to the lord chancellor and the earl of Hertford, who had been left at London. They all agreed that it was necessary to communicate this disagreeable information to the king; and that unpleasant task was laid upon the archbishop⁵³⁶.

The queen
detected.

The king returned from his progress in the end of October, and it was on November 1st, when he took the sacrament, that he thanked God publicly for the happiness he enjoyed with his queen. The very next day the archbishop came to court, and had an audience of the king, in which he said nothing of the queen; but as he was taking his leave, he put the paper containing Lossels' declaration into his hand. Henry was then in the height of his dotage upon the queen; and it is impossible to conceive the surprise and horror with which he was seized on perusing that paper. At first he exclaimed in rage that it was false: it was impossible. But when he became more cool, and observed how very pointed and particular the information was, he resolved to make an inquiry. He sent with great

⁵³⁶ Herbett, p. 218.

secrecy

A.D. 1547.

secrecy for the lord privy seal, the lord admiral, sir Anthony Brown, and sir Thomas Wriothesley, and communicated to them, in confidence, the information he had received, and his resolution to make an inquiry into the truth of it, but in such a manner as to give no alarm to the queen, and to raise no scandal. The earl of Southampton, lord privy seal, examined Loffels, who adhered to the information he had given the archbishop, and had received from his sister. The earl then went into Suffex, where the sister lived, on a pretence of hunting; called at her house as if by accident, and asking some indifferent questions, insensibly led her to speak of the queen, and what she had said to her brother. She confirmed every thing she had said, and added other circumstances and evidences. On this, Mannoc and Derham were seized on different pretences; and being privately examined, and finding that their secrets were discovered, they confessed their own guilt and the queen's, and gave still further information. When all this was reported to the king, he burst into tears, and bitterly bewailed his unhappiness³³⁵.

sent to the
Tower.

The queen was now removed to Sion, but without any indication of unkindness or disgrace. There she was examined by the primate, the chancellor, her uncle the duke of Norfolk, and some other lords. At first she denied every thing: but when she found that all was discovered, and would be proved, she made and subscribed a confession of her guilt with Derham before her marriage, but

³³⁵ Herbert, p. 228, 229.

denied

denied any pre-contract, or any violation of her marriage vows ⁵⁵⁶. In this, however, she was not believed; for in the course of their inquiries it had been discovered that one Culpepper, a relation of her's by her mother, had carried on a criminal correspondence with her before her marriage, and that when the court was at Lincoln on the late progress, he was introduced by lady Rochford into the queen's bed-chamber at eleven o'clock in the evening, and had remained there till four o'clock the next morning. Besides, she had procured a place at court for Derham, and taken one of the women who had been accustomed to sleep with her and him into her service. In a word, it was now fully proved, that she had been a dissolute wanton before her marriage, and made it highly probable that she intended to continue the same course of life after. On these discoveries Culpepper was imprisoned, and the queen and lady Rochford were sent to the Tower. Derham and Culpepper were tried and found guilty November 30th, and were executed December 10th, at Tyburn ⁵⁵⁷. The old duchess of Norfolk, the queen's grandmother, lord William Howard her uncle, and several other relations and servants of the family, were found guilty of misprision of treason, for concealing her vicious conduct, (which seems to have been no great secret,) and condemned to perpetual imprisonment ⁵⁵⁸.

⁵⁵⁶ Burnet, vol. iii. Records, p. 271.

⁵⁵⁷ Stowe, p. 583.

⁵⁵⁸ Herbert, p. 229.

A. D. 1542.

Parliament.

A new parliament met January 16th A. D. 1542, and was opened by the chancellor with a very long speech, which (say the Journals) it would have required three hours to write, and one hour to read; and the clerks were so much engaged with other business, that they could only take down a small part of it—an awkward apology for omitting every thing that related to the queen. What they have preserved of this famous speech is a specimen of the most extravagant flattery. Among other things, the chancellor said, “ That when his most sacred majesty came to the throne, he prayed to God to grant him wisdom and understanding; and the Almighty had anointed him with the oil of wisdom above his fellows, above all the other kings of the earth, and above all his predecessors.” Every time the king was named in this long speech, which was very often, all the lords and commons bowed almost to the ground, to signify their approbation of the praises bestowed upon him³³⁹. On the third day of the parliament the king received more incense of the same kind, and equally strong, from Thomas Moile, speaker of the house of commons.

The queen
attainted
and be-
headed.

The great end for which this parliament was called, was to dispose of the queen, and make the king once more a widower; and they set about that business without delay; for the very next day, January 21st, a bill of attainder of Catherine Howard, late queen of England, and of Jane lady Roch-

³³⁹ Journals, p. 164, 165.

ford, for high treason; of Agnes duchess of Norfolk, lord William Howard, and others, for misprision of treason; was brought into the house of peers, and read a first time ³⁴⁰. On Saturday, January 28th, the lord chancellor represented to the house the great delicacy and caution that were to be used in trying a queen; and proposed to appoint a committee to examine her, and report her answers to the king. This motion was universally approved; and the archbishop of Canterbury, the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Southampton, and the bishop of Westminster, were appointed a committee for that purpose. But they were directed not to do any thing till they had consulted the king, and obtained his permission. This mode of proceeding, it seems on further consideration, did not please the king; for on Monday, January 30th, the lord chancellor acquainted the house, that a better method had occurred to the king's council, *viz.* to petition the king to grant his permission to them to proceed and finish the queen's cause; and that when it was finished he would give his royal assent, not in person, lest that should revive his sorrow, which now began to abate, but by commission; and that he would graciously pardon the members of his parliament, if in the course of this business any of them spoke disrespectfully of the queen. None of this tenderness was shewn by the king and parliament to the amiable and unfortunate Anne Boleyn. Next day the lord chancellor reported to the house, that their petitions had been presented

³⁴⁰ Journals, p. 168.

A. D. 1542.

to the king, and that he had been graciously pleased to grant them all. The chancellor, February 11th, produced before both houses an act of attainder of Catherine Howard, late queen of England, and of lady Jane Rochford, for high treason; of the duchess of Norfolk, the countess Bridgewater her daughter, the lord William Howard and his lady, other four men and five women, for misprision of treason; signed by the king, as an evidence of his assent⁵⁴¹. The day after, February 12th, the queen and lady Rochford were beheaded on a scaffold in the Tower⁵⁴². The execution of lady Rochford (who had been the chief instrument of the death of her own husband lord Rochford, and of his sister queen Anne Boleyn) revived the memory of these lamented sufferers, and contributed still further to convince the world of their innocence.

The act of attainder of the queen contained several curious clauses, dictated, it is probable, by the present peevish discontented humour of the king. By one of these clauses it was made high treason to conceal the incontinence of the queen for the time being. By another it was declared, that if the king, or any of his successors, should intend to marry any woman, believing her to be a clean and pure maid, and she not being so, did not reveal the same to the king, it should be high treason; and if any other person knew her not to be a maid and did not reveal it, it should be misprision of treason. By another, it was made high treason

⁵⁴¹ Journals, p. 173, 172. 176.⁵⁴² Burnet, p. 313.

in the queen or prince's wife to solicit, by words or messages, any person to intrigue with them; and in any person, in like manner, to solicit them, and in all their confidants and abettors⁵⁴³. These indelicate dishonourable laws were repealed in the first year of the succeeding reign.

A. D. 1542.

Negotiations.

Henry, as hath been already observed, had been greatly irritated at his nephew, James V. for not meeting him at York, and had resolved upon a war with Scotland. But before he entered upon that war, he thought it prudent to secure a peace with France, that Scotland might receive no assistance from that quarter. With this view he sent sir William Paget to the court of France, to propose a renewal of the treaty of perpetual peace and amity. But the French ministry, knowing or suspecting the design of this proposal, replied, that the treaty was conditional, and that the king of England had violated these conditions. The ambassador recriminated, the negotiation degenerated into angry altercations, and Paget, at his return, reported that there could be no reliance on the friendship of France⁵⁴⁴. Though king James had been prevailed upon by his clergy not to keep the appointment at York, he earnestly desired to avoid a war, and sent the bishop of Orkney and John Liermont, master of his household, to the court of England, to pacify his uncle, and regain his friendship. But these ambassadors met with a very cold reception; and the army designed for an invasion of Scotland being now ready, Henry pub-

⁵⁴³ Statutes, 33 Hen. VIII. c. 21.⁵⁴⁴ Herbert, p. 231.

A.D. 1542.

lished a very long declaration of war, in which he insisted at great length on the antiquated claim of the kings of England to the superiority of Scotland. He did not forget James's breach of his engagement to meet him at York, which was in reality the only thing of which he had any reason to complain. But he took care not to mention his real inducement to this war, which was to compel his nephew, since he could not persuade him, to relinquish his alliance with France, and enter into an intimate union with England ⁵⁴⁵.

War with
Scotland.

The English army, consisting of twenty thousand men well appointed, commanded by the duke of Norfolk, attended by six earls, and many lords, knights, and gentlemen, entered Scotland October 21st, burnt several villages, with the town and abbey of Kelso, and returned to Berwick on the 29th of the same month. It is difficult to account for the sudden retreat of this formidable army. An English historian says, they could stay no longer for cold and hunger ⁵⁴⁶. But if warmth and plenty prevailed in England, they were never at a greater distance from it than ten miles. However that may be, as soon as the English retreated, the Scots prepared to invade England by the West marches with an army of fifteen thousand men. The king conducted his troops to Caerlaverock, where he remained: but when the army arrived at Solway-moss, and were ready to enter England, Oliver Sinclair, the king's hated minion, was proclaimed general, which threw the whole army into confusion,

⁵⁴⁵ Hall. f. 248—254.⁵⁴⁶ Id. *ibid*.

and

A. D. 1542.

and a disposition to disband. Sir Thomas Wharton, warden of the West marches, sir William Musgrave, and the bastard of Dacres, at the head of a body of horse, observing this disorder, advanced, and to their great surprise met with no resistance. Many lords, gentlemen, and others, surrendered themselves prisoners to the first who approached them, while the rest fled on every side⁵⁴⁷. When king James (who had of late discovered some symptoms of a disordered imagination) received the news of this disaster, he became quite frantic, and soon after sunk into a settled melancholy, from which he never recovered, but died December 14th, leaving an infant princess, only seven days old, heiress of his dominions⁵⁴⁸: a princess who became the object of much ambitious competition and of many political intrigues during her life, and of much literary altercation after her death.

The earls of Cassells and Glencarne, the lords Maxwell, Fleming, Somerville, Oliphant, and Gray, with about twenty of the principal gentlemen who had been taken at Solway-moss, were carried to London, and after two days imprisonment, they were committed to the custody of certain prelates and noblemen, by whom they were hospitably entertained. When Henry heard of the death of king James and the birth of his daughter, he began to entertain thoughts of a marriage between his son the prince of Wales and the infant queen of Scotland, and invited his prisoners to Hampton

A. D. 1543.
Projected
marriage.⁵⁴⁷ Hall, f. 255. Stowe, p. 583.⁵⁴⁸ Herbert, p. 233.

A. D. 1543.

Court to a royal feast. In the midst of the festivity the project of the marriage was introduced, and the king, observing that it was approved by the Scotch lords and gentlemen, proposed to give them their liberty, on condition that they promised to promote the marriage with all their power in their own country, and that they gave hostages for their return into confinement if they proved unsuccessful. They joyfully accepted these conditions, set out on their journey homeward January 1st, A. D. 1543, and visited the prince of Wales at Enfield the same day. At Newcastle they delivered their hostages to the duke of Suffolk, and arrived at Edinburgh about the middle of January ⁵⁴⁹.

Treaty.

There had been a kind of piratical war carried on between the French and English merchants all the preceding year, and now a national war appeared to be unavoidable. Henry had for a considerable time past been dissatisfied with his former friend king Francis on various accounts, and had been secretly negotiating an alliance with his great adversary the emperor, with whom he had been long at variance. This negotiation was brought to maturity in the beginning of this year, and on February 11th a treaty of perpetual peace, amity, and friendship, between the emperor and Henry king of England, and their heirs and successors for ever, was concluded, and signed by their plenipotentiaries ⁵⁵⁰. This treaty is very long, and contains all the general articles inserted in those fragile short-lived treaties of perpetual peace. By one

⁵⁴⁹ Hall, f. 255.⁵⁵⁰ Rym. tom. xiv. p. 768—780.

article

A.D. 1543.

article the two confederates agree to demand of the king of France, by their ambassadors at his court, That he break off all intercourse with the Turk, and recal his residents; that he repay all the losses sustained by Christendom for the Turk by his procurement; that he cease from war with the emperor, that he may be at liberty to defend Christendom from the Turk; that he immediately pay the king of England all the arrears of his perpetual pension, and give him lands as a security for the regular payment of it in future. If the king of France did not comply with these requisitions, (which they perfectly well knew he would not,) they then agree to declare war against him, the emperor claiming Burgundy, and the king of England claiming the crown of France; and that they should not make peace but by mutual consent. By the subsequent articles the *quotas* of money and troops to be furnished by each of the contracting parties were settled⁵⁵¹. After the conclusion of this treaty both princes prepared for war.

To be provided with money, the sinews of war, Subsidy; the king held a session of parliament, which began January 22d. A bill for granting the king a subsidy was brought up from the commons to the house of peers March 6th, and read next day for the first time, and sent back to the commons: it was brought up again to the peers March 9th, with a proviso annexed, which was read the day after: on the 14th it was sent back to the commons with a proviso for the town of Stamford, and on the

⁵⁵¹ Rym. tom. xiv. p. 768—780. Herbert, p. 236, 237.

A.D. 1543.

15th brought up again to the lords. No farther notice is taken of this bill (which had been thus tossed between the two houses) in the Journals. It appears, however, from the list of the acts made in this session, that this bill did pass both houses, and received the royal assent⁵⁵². The subsidy granted was as follows: "They who were in goods worth twenty shillings and upwards to five pounds, paid four pence of every pound; from five pounds to ten pounds, eight pence; from ten to twenty pounds, sixteen pence; from twenty and upwards, two shillings. All strangers, as well denizens as others, inhabiting here, double the sum. As for lands, fees, and annuities, every native paid eight pence in the pound, from one pound to five pounds; from five to ten pounds, sixteen pence; from ten to twenty pounds, two shillings; from twenty and upwards, three shillings. Strangers double these rates⁵⁵³." The clergy of both provinces in convocation granted a subsidy of six shillings in the pound of all their ecclesiastical revenues, to be paid in three years; and this grant was confirmed by an act of parliament⁵⁵⁴.

Treaties.

When the Scotch lords and gentlemen above mentioned, accompanied by the earl of Angus and his brother sir George Douglas, who had been fifteen years exiles in England, arrived at Edinburgh, they found their country in great confusion: they immediately applied to James Hamilton earl of Arran, governor of the kingdom, and com-

⁵⁵² Journals, p. 213—235.⁵⁵³ Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 190.⁵⁵⁴ Journals, p. 235.

municated to him the king of England's proposal of a peace between the two nations, and of a marriage between the infant queen and his only son the prince of Wales. The governor approved of this proposal, and promised to promote its success with all his power. With this view he assembled a great council of the nobility January 27th, and laid the proposal before them, which met with their approbation; and it was resolved to summons a parliament to meet March 13th at Edinburgh. When the parliament met, few of the noblemen of the French party attended, and cardinal Beaton, the head of that party, was put in confinement. The majority therefore declared in favour of the peace and marriage; and William earl of Glencarne; sir George Douglas, brother to the earl of Angus; William Hamilton, of Sanquhar; John Liermont, of Balcomy; and Henry Balnavis, secretary, were appointed commissioners May 4th to negotiate these two important affairs⁵⁵⁵. Henry appointed the lord chancellor Audley, the duke of Norfolk, the bishops of Winchester and Westminster, the lord St. John and sir John Gage, his plenipotentiaries. The treaty of peace was easily concluded, and contained nothing uncommon: but the treaty of marriage was attended with more difficulty, and it took up a considerable time before all the conditions could be settled. At length, however, both treaties were signed July 1st at Greenwich. Henry had at first proposed, that the infant queen should be immediately sent into England, and that the govern-

⁵⁵⁵ Rym. tom. xiv. p. 781—785.

A.D. 1543.

ment of the kingdom, with the chief places of strength, should be committed to him as guardian to his son and future daughter-in-law; and these were the conditions which his prisoners had promised their endeavours to procure. But the Scots were too jealous of their independency, and had too little confidence in their powerful ambitious neighbour, to listen to these proposals. All he could obtain was, that he might send a nobleman, with his lady and family, to reside with the queen, and assist in taking care of her health and education; and that, when she was ten years of age, she should be conducted to Berwick, and there delivered to such honourable persons as were appointed to receive her; but that the marriage should be solemnized by proxies, according to the rites of the church; before the queen left Scotland; and that if she became a widow without issue by that marriage, she should be permitted to return to her own kingdom, free from all matrimonial engagements. By other articles, the freedom and independency of the kingdom, and the continuance of the earl of Arran in the government of it, were anxiously secured⁵⁵⁶. But all this was only the work of one party of the nobles and people of Scotland, and was soon overturned.

The king's
marriage.

While Henry was thus employed in negotiating a marriage for his son, he was not unmindful of one for himself. The late act of parliament rendered him a dangerous gallant to maiden ladies; he therefore made his addresses to a widow, and

⁵⁵⁶ Rym. p. 792—796.

married the lady Catherine Parr, relict of the lord Latimer, and she was presented July 12th to the whole court as queen ⁵⁵⁷.

A. D. 1543.

At the same time that Henry announced his marriage, he published his league with the emperor, and prepared for a war with France in consequence of that league. The emperor began the war by an attack on the duke of Cleves, who, unable to resist so powerful an enemy, submitted, and renounced his alliance with France. Henry, agreeably to a stipulation in his treaty with the emperor, sent six thousand men, under the command of sir John Wallop, to the assistance of that prince. These troops landed at Calais, marched along the confines of France, and joined the Imperial army at the siege of Landrecy. But this town was so bravely defended, that the emperor was obliged to raise the siege, and put his army into winter-quarters ⁵⁵⁸. Thus ended this campaign, without any considerable advantage on either side.

War with France.

In the mean time affairs had taken a very unfavourable turn in Scotland. Cardinal Beaton, by corrupting his keeper the lord Seaton, had obtained his liberty, and had called a meeting of the clergy at St. Andrews, to whom he represented, that if the marriage of the queen with the prince of Wales was not prevented, they would be ruined, and deprived of all their possessions: by which means he obtained a great sum of money from them, with which he confirmed and encouraged his own partisans, and gained some of the other

Affairs of Scotland.

⁵⁵⁷ Herbert, p. 239.⁵⁵⁸ Stowe, p. 585.

A.D. 1543.

party. The queen-mother, a lady of uncommon abilities and address, though she made the fairest professions to sir Ralph Sadler, the English ambassador, secretly and cordially co-operated with the cardinal against the governor and the match with England. But the weakness and irresolution of the governor himself gave the greatest advantage to his enemies against him and his party. To keep him steady, Henry directed his ambassador to promise the lady Elizabeth in marriage to his son lord Hamilton: but nothing could give him that firmness and fortitude which nature had denied him. The queen and cardinal knew his timidity, and employed various arts to rouse his fears. For this purpose they employed his natural brother the abbot of Paisley, who resided constantly with him, and had a great ascendant over him. The governor's father had been divorced from his first lady, and the abbot assured him, that if he did not abandon the party that favoured England and the reformation, the cardinal was determined to prevail upon the pope to reverse the sentence of his father's divorce, and declare him illegitimate, by which he would not only lose all hopes of succeeding to the crown, but that he would also be deprived of the estate and honours of his family, which would all devolve on his mortal enemy the earl of Lennox. To confirm his apprehensions, they recalled the earl of Lennox from France, received him with the most ostentatious marks of favour, and gave out that he was to marry the queen dowager, and to succeed to the crown, if the

A. D. 1543.

the young queen died without issue. Greatly alarmed at this, the governor, after wavering some time between the two parties, at last resolved to abandon the party which had raised him to the government, and would have supported him, and to throw himself into the hands of the other party, who made him many specious but fallacious promises. He had a private meeting with the cardinal at Callendar, September 4th, in which all the terms of their agreement were settled, and rode with him the same evening to Stirling, where the two queens resided: there, it is said, he publicly abjured the doctrines of the reformers, to which he had before professed an attachment; and put his son, lord Hamilton, into the cardinal's hands, to be educated by him, but in reality as a hostage for his own fidelity to his new engagements. The cardinal's party, being thus strengthened by the accession of the governor and such of his friends as followed him, proceeded to the coronation of the infant queen September 9th, when she was only about ten months old⁵⁵⁹.

Henry was punctually informed of all these and many other events by his faithful resident sir Ralph Sadler, and plainly perceived that the predominant party were in the interest of France and Rome, and would not fulfil the treaty of marriage unless they were compelled. He resolved therefore to renew the war, and began by encouraging the borderers to make incursions into Scotland, and by seizing all the Scotch ships in the ports of Eng-

Breach
with Scot-
land.

⁵⁵⁹ Sadler's Letters,

land,

A. D. 1543.

land. This last measure (which was certainly very cruel) inflamed the rage of the Scots exceedingly, and rendered the whole nation almost unanimous against the marriage and peace with England. This disposition of the people encouraged the governor, at the instigation of the cardinal, to call a parliament, which, on December 11th, declared that Henry, king of England, had violated the late treaty of peace, on consideration of which the treaty of marriage between their queen and the prince of Wales had proceeded, by seizing the Scotch ships: "Therefore my lord governor and the three estates in parliament have declared, and do declare, the said treaties to be expired, and not to be kept in time coming, on the part of Scotland, by law, equity, and reason⁵⁶⁰." On the same day two ambassadors from the king of France appeared in parliament, sent, as they said, by the most Christian king, to renew all the ancient treaties of friendship between France and Scotland, and to make new ones, and to offer them assistance to protect their queen and country against the king of England. The parliament appointed the cardinal, the earls of Argyle and Murray, the lord St. John, and sir Adam Otterburn, to treat with the French ambassadors, for renewing the old and making a new alliance between the two nations⁵⁶¹. Thus by the weakness of the governor of Scotland, the cunning of cardinal Beaton, and the passionate rashness of the king of England, the pleasing prospect of peace and unity between

⁵⁶⁰ Registers of Parliament, f. 103.⁵⁶¹ Ibid. f. 104.

the two British nations vanished, and the flames of war were rekindled. A. D. 1543.

To be provided for a war against both France and Scotland, the king assembled his parliament, January 14th, at Westminster. On the 24th of that month the bill for confirming the change of the king's style, from lord of Ireland to king of Ireland, passed the house of peers, and was sent to the commons, by whom it was also passed ⁵⁶². As the king intended to command his army in France, he thought proper to have the rule of succession to the crown settled before his departure. A bill for that purpose was brought into the house of peers February 7th, passed on the 9th, and sent to the commons. No mention is made in the Journals of its being returned; but it appears from the list of the acts passed this session, that it passed both houses, and received the royal assent. By this act the crown was settled, 1. On Edward prince of Wales and his lawful issue: 2. On the king's issue by his present, or any future queen: 3. On the princess Mary and her lawful issue: 4. On the princess Elizabeth and her lawful issue: and failing all these, on such as the king pleased to appoint by letters patent, or by his last will ⁵⁶³. The parliament did not grant any subsidies in this session, but they did what was equally advantageous to the sovereign, and much more unjust and oppressive to many of the subjects. They released the king from all obligation to pay any sums of money he

A. D. 1544.
Parliament.

⁵⁶² Journals, p. 240. Statutes, 25 Hen. VIII. c. 3.

⁵⁶³ Journals, p. 240. Statutes, 25 Hen. VIII. c. 1. Herbert, p. 241.

A. D. 1544

had borrowed from any of his subjects on the security of privy seals; and if he had paid all or any part of any of these sums, it was to be refunded; and if any person had sold his privy seal to another, he was to restore the price⁵⁶⁴. There could not be a more gross violation of the first and plainest principles of justice than this; and yet this was done by the king and parliament of England.

Invasion of
Scotland.

Henry determined to begin his martial operations by a formidable invasion of Scotland, then in a most miserable and distracted state, several of the chief nobility still adhering to the English interest, and family feuds raging with the greatest violence. Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, uncle to the prince of Wales, was appointed commander in chief, and marched to Newcastle with the army, which was there taken on board a fleet of two hundred ships, commanded by John Dudley lord Lisle, admiral of England, and landed May 4th near Leith without opposition. On the approach of the army to the town a considerable body of horse appeared; but finding themselves too weak to encounter an army so numerous and well appointed, they retreated, and the English entered Leith, where they found more valuable plunder than they expected. The next day the English army marched to Edinburgh, the inhabitants of which offered to surrender the town, on condition of security for their lives and properties. These offers being rejected, they shut their gates, and excluded their enemies one day: but next morning

⁵⁶⁴ Journals, p. 240. Statutes, 25 Hen. VIII. c. 12.

the

the English burst open one of the gates, and finding the place almost quite deserted, the soldiers were permitted to plunder it; and in that employment they spent three days, assisted by six thousand men, who had marched from Berwick. Having stripped the town of every thing that was valuable, they set it on fire in several places; and then plundered and burnt the towns, villages, and gentlemen's seats, in the neighbourhood. At length, weary with destroying, and loaded with booty, they returned to Leith, burnt that place, demolished the mole, embarked May 15th, and set sail. In their passage down the Firth they visited all the ports on both sides, and either burnt or carried off all the shipping. The army from Berwick returned to that place by land, marking their way with desolation⁵⁶³. By this unexpected invasion Henry did the Scots incredible mischief, and ruined the richest part of their country; but this rough kind of courtship was so far from promoting the object he had in view, the union of the two kingdoms by the marriage of his son with the infant queen of Scotland, that it rendered that project perfectly desperate.

It would be endless to trace the fluctuations of the English and French parties in Scotland at this time. Some of the nobility were almost daily changing sides, as circumstances varied. It may not be improper, however, to mention one of these changes, because it was productive of important consequences. After the earl of Lennox

Treaty
with the
earl of
Lennox.

⁵⁶³ Hall, f. 258. Herbert, p. 242.

had

A.D. 1544.

had answered the purpose for which he had been recalled from France, and had intimidated the governor so much that he had abandoned the English and embraced the French party, he found himself neglected and slighted by the queen dowager and by cardinal Beaton. He found too, that his return to France was precluded by their misrepresentations, and that his brother, the lord Aubigny, was deprived of his employments and imprisoned. Irritated at this ungrateful treatment, the earl conveyed a hint to king Henry, that he was disposed to espouse his cause upon proper terms. In consequence of this hint, Henry appointed the lord Wharton and sir Robert Bowes his commissioners, to treat with the earl of Glencarne, Robert bishop of Caithness, and Hugh Cunningham, commissioners of the earl of Lennox, the earl of Glencarne acting also for himself as a party. These commissioners concluded a treaty, May 17th, at Carlisle. By this treaty the two earls engage, 1. To do every thing in their power to prevent the young queen's being stolen away and sent out of the kingdom: 2. To endeavour to seize the person of the infant queen, and deliver her to Henry, to be educated in his court, and married to his son: 3. To labour to procure the protectorship of the kingdom of Scotland to Henry during the queen's minority. Henry, on his part, engaged, 1. To give the earl of Glencarne one thousand crowns in hand, and soon after a pension of 250*l.* a year to himself, and of 125*l.* a year to his eldest son: 2. To appoint the earl of Lennox governor

governor of Scotland under him when he had obtained the protectorship : 3. To support the earl's succession to the crown against the earl of Arran, if the young queen died without issue : 4. To give him his niece the lady Margaret Douglas, in marriage ⁵⁶⁶. By this marriage, which was soon after celebrated, the earl became grandfather to the first monarch of Great Britain. By a subsequent treaty, June 26th, the earl engaged to surrender the castle of Dumbarton and the island of Bute to Henry for an estate in England worth seventeen hundred marks a year ; and the earl was furnished with a fleet of fourteen ships to carry six hundred men to garrison the castle. But this enterprise was defeated by the patriotism of George Stirling of Gloral, captain of Dumbarton, who, though he was a friend to Lennox, was still a greater friend to his country ; for when he was informed that the castle was to be delivered to the English, he refused to surrender it, and obliged the earl to retire with precipitation ⁵⁶⁷.

These operations in Scotland did not divert Henry from his intended expedition into France, in consequence of a plan that had been settled between him and the emperor in the preceding winter. Having appointed the queen regent of the kingdom, and sent his army to the continent in three divisions, the first commanded by the duke of Norfolk, the second by the duke of Suffolk, the third by lord Russell, the king, with a numerous train of nobles, went on board a beautiful ship,

Boulogne
taken.

⁵⁶⁶ Rym. Fœd. tom. xv. p. 22—26. 47.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid. p. 29.

whose

A. D. 1544.

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whose sails were of cloth of gold, and landed July 14th at Calais. The first division of the English, under Norfolk, joined the Imperial army; the second and third invested Boulogne. Henry, after spending some time at Calais, joined his army before that place, which was surrendered, September 14th, on honourable terms ⁵⁶⁸.

End of the
campaign.

The king of France, sensible of his inability to contend long against two such powerful adversaries as the emperor and the king of England, endeavoured to disunite them, and made application to each of them for a separate peace. To Henry he wrote a letter with his own hand, desiring a safe-conduct to the ambassadors he designed to send to treat of a peace. The safe-conduct was sent, and the ambassadors arrived at a castle near the English camp, where the negotiation commenced ⁵⁶⁹. But this negotiation was only intended to conceal a more serious one, that was carried on with great secrecy by the intervention of a Dominican friar, between Francis and the emperor, which terminated, September 19th, in a separate peace between these two monarchs, without the least regard to the king of England ⁵⁷⁰. As soon as this peace was published, the French ambassadors broke off the conferences, and retired. The duke of Norfolk, who besieged Montreuil, in conjunction with the Imperial troops, being abandoned by these troops on the peace, was obliged to raise the siege, and rejoin the army at Boulogne with his division. The emperor acted

⁵⁶⁸ Herbert, p. 245. Rym. p. 52, &c.

⁵⁶⁹ Rym. p. 52.

⁵⁷⁰ Histoire de France, par Garnier, tom. xxv. p. 452.

A. D. 1544.

on this, as on some other occasions, in a very deceitful manner: he not only violated the solemn oath he had taken not to make peace without the participation of his ally, but after drawing that ally into a war, he abandoned him in a very dangerous situation. The English army was much diminished by the two sieges of Montreuil and Boulogne, and the garrison put into the last of these places; and the dauphin was advancing by forced marches at the head of forty thousand men to attack them. Henry, sensible of his danger, embarked at Boulogne September 30th, leaving the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk to conduct the remains of the army to Calais, where they went on board a fleet ready for their reception October 9th, and sailed for England⁵⁷¹. Thus ended this campaign, which, at the opening of it, filled France with terror, and threatened it with the greatest calamities.

Though Francis had great reason to rejoice at the dissolution of the formidable confederacy that had been formed against him, he lamented the loss, and ardently desired the recovery, of Boulogne. The dauphin attempted to retake it by surprise, and a part of his army got into the lower town in the night by the breaches before they were repaired; but the soldiers dispersing in the dark in quest of plunder, the English rushed down upon them from the high town, killed many, and put the rest to flight⁵⁷². Some other attempts that were made during the winter were equally unsuc-

A. D. 1545.
Attempts
to retake
Boulogne.

⁵⁷¹ Herbert, p. 248. Rym. p. 57.⁵⁷² Herbert, p. 248.

A. D. 1545.

celful. When the dauphin's army retired, the marshal de Buz was left with a considerable body of men near Boulogne to harass the garrison, and to protect the workmen employed in building a fort at the mouth of the harbour, to prevent the admission of supplies from England. But the earl of Hertford, having collected some troops from the neighbouring towns, formed a small army, with which he assaulted the French under de Buz, and compelled them to retire to a greater distance with considerable loss ⁵⁷³.

Benevo-
lence.

The taking of Boulogne occasioned great rejoicings in England: but, like many other conquests, it was a real loss to the kingdom. The acquisition of it had cost 586,718*l.* and the lives of some hundreds of brave men; and the resolution to retain it, retarded the return of peace, and threatened the nation with a much greater loss both of men and money. To replenish his exhausted coffers, and prepare for another campaign, Henry had recourse to the arbitrary illegal method of demanding a benevolence, and commissioners were appointed in all parts of the kingdom to persuade, or rather to compel, the subjects to make the king a free gift. The commissioners for London, where the greatest sums were expected, met at Baynard's castle January 12th, but found an uncommon reluctance in the rich citizens to part with their money. To overcome this reluctance, it was thought necessary to employ some wholesome severities; and alderman Read, one of the richest

⁵⁷³ Herbert, p. 249.

and most refractory citizens, was sent as a common soldier into the army against Scotland ⁵⁷⁴.

A. D. 1545.

Military
operations.

Francis, having now only one enemy to contend with, determined to make one great effort for recovering Boulogne, and the other towns possessed by the English in France, and even for invading England. With that view he collected all the stout ships in the different ports of France, brought twenty-five galleys from the Mediterranean, and formed a fleet of two hundred sail at Havre-de-Grace. An army embarked on board this fleet, which setting sail arrived at St. Helen's July 18th, cannonaded the English fleet in Portsmouth Roads, and landed some troops on the Isle of Wight. These troops, after skirmishing some days with the militia of the country, re-embarked. They made similar descents on the coasts of Sussex, but were every where repulsed; and finding that they could make no impression on a country so well defended, this great fleet returned to the port from whence it had sailed, without having effected any thing of importance. The land army of France, though numerous and well appointed, was not more successful. After looking at Boulogne and Guisnes, and not daring to besiege either of them, that great army of almost forty thousand men ravaged the defenceless country of Oye, from whence the garrison of Calais used to get forage and provisions, and then went into winter quarters ⁵⁷⁵. Henry had taken into his pay ten thousand lansquenets and four thousand horse, levied in Germany; but the

⁵⁷⁴ Herbert, p. 249. Rym. p. 84.

⁵⁷⁵ *Memoires du Bellai*, tom. vi. p. 56, &c.

A. D. 1545.

emperor refused them a passage through his territories. Disappointed of so great a reinforcement, the English were obliged to remain on the defensive all this campaign.

Francis, to cause a diversion in the north of England, sent Montgomery, lord of Lorges, into Scotland in the beginning of June this year, with three thousand foot and five hundred horse; and the Scots raised an army of fifteen thousand, and, in conjunction with their French auxiliaries, marched to the Tweed, and sent some flying parties to plunder the English borders. But though they were urged to it by the French commander, they could not be prevailed upon to invade England in a body; and after remaining on the borders till their provisions were consumed, they disbanded and returned home. After their retreat, the earl of Hertford, with twelve thousand men, entered Scotland, and plundered the Merse ¹⁷⁶.

Parliament.

Though Henry had lately extorted great sums of money from his subjects, by what was very improperly called a benevolence, these sums were far from being sufficient for defraying the expences of his wars, and supplying his other wants: he had therefore recourse to a parliament that met at Westminster November 23d, and granted him a subsidy of two shillings and eight pence in the pound on goods, and four shillings in the pound on lands, to be paid in two years. The clergy in convocation also granted him six shillings in the pound of their benefices, and that grant was confirmed

¹⁷⁶ *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, tom. iv. p. 328, &c.*

by parliament. Not contented with all these, Henry prevailed upon this liberal obsequious parliament to make him a still more valuable and extraordinary grant. After the dissolution of the monasteries, there still remained a great number of colleges, chapels, chantries, hospitals, and other fraternities of secular priests, endowed with lands, rents, and stipends, for saying a certain number of masses for the souls of their founders and their families. Henry had for some time past been tampering with the possessors of these foundations to surrender their endowments to the crown, and had in that way obtained the possessions of twenty-four of them. But that method was troublesome and dilatory. The parliament at one blow dissolved them all, and gave their houses, lands, and goods of every kind, to the king⁵⁷⁷. Prostitute as parliaments were at this time, it seems highly improbable that they meant to dissolve the colleges in the two universities: but the act was conceived in such general terms, that the colleges were alarmed, and applied to people in power for their protection. Their fears were soon dispelled, by assurances that no harm was intended them⁵⁷⁸. Henry was so pleased with this parliament, that he honoured it with an uncommon mark of his regard, by delivering a long speech from the throne to both houses on December 24th, the last day of the session: in that speech he thanked them for their subsidy, and for their grant of the colleges, chapels, &c. which he valued more for

⁵⁷⁷ Statutes, 27 Hen. VIII.

⁵⁷⁸ Burnet, vol. i. p. 339. Rym. p. 65.

A.D. 1545.

their love to him, from which they had proceeded, than for the money they would bring; and assured them, that he would make a better use of that money than they could either imagine or desire. After many strong professions of extraordinary love to all his subjects, he reprimanded both the clergy and laity for giving one another bad names; and told them, that if they did not agree better, he would be obliged to chastise them ⁵⁷⁹.

A. D. 1546.
Military
operations.

There were frequent skirmishes at the end of the last and the beginning of this year, between the French under marshal de Buz and the English under the earl of Surry, governor of Boulogne. In one of these skirmishes the English sustained a considerable loss, and were put to flight. Henry, upon hearing this, recalled the earl of Surry, and appointed the lord Grey of Wilton governor in his room. Surry, an accomplished, brave, and high-spirited nobleman, was enraged at this affront beyond measure, and dropped some passionate threatening expressions, which were reported to the king, and increased his dislike and jealousy of the Norfolk family ⁵⁸⁰.

Peace with
France.

Two attempts had already been made to bring about a peace between France and England, but without success. The French negotiators, on both these occasions, obstinately insisted on the restitution of Boulogne, and the comprehension of the Scots in the treaty; both which those of England as obstinately refused: for Henry passionately desired to preserve Boulogne as a monument of his

⁵⁷⁹ Hall, f. 261.

⁵⁸⁰ Rym. p. 80—90. Herbert, p. 254-

glory,

A. D. 1546.

glory, and to be at liberty to take vengeance on the Scots, against whom he was greatly incensed. But both princes were now so heartily tired of the war, and had so many reasons to wish for peace, that they appointed their plenipotentiaries to meet at Campes, between Guisnes and Ardres, where, on June 7th, a treaty of peace was concluded and signed. Besides the usual articles of the renewal of amity, commerce, &c. it was stipulated, that Francis should pay to Henry and his successors the pensions due by former treaties: that Henry should keep possession of Boulogne eight years without molestation: and at the end of these eight years Francis should pay to the king of England two millions of crowns as the arrears of pensions, and the expence of keeping up and repairing the fortifications of Boulogne; and that when that sum was paid, the king of England should surrender Boulogne to the king of France. The Scots were comprehended in this peace; and Henry engaged not to make war upon them, if they did not give him some new provocation⁵⁸¹. Francis swore to the observation of this treaty August 1st, before the English commissioners; as did Henry, on St. Bartholomew's day, before the commissioners of France⁵⁸². The Scots accepted of the comprehension August 14th, with a saving of the rights of their queen, and the liberties of their country⁵⁸³.

Henry for several years had been growing more and more corpulent, and was now become very un-

The queen
in danger.

⁵⁸¹ Rym. p. 94—98.⁵⁸² Ibid. p. 98. Hall, f. 262.⁵⁸³ Ep. R. S. tom. ii. p. 354.

A. D. 1546.

wieldy and dropfical: he had besides a fore in one of his legs, to which the humours of his body flowed, and gave him great uneasinefs. This rendered his temper, which was naturally paffionate and impatient of contradiction, intolerably peevifh and irafcible. Few approached him without fear, or converfed with him without danger. To this difeafed irritability of temper his queen had almoft fallen a facrifice. He was vain of his theological learning, and fond of displaying it in converfation. The queen, who fecretly favoured the principles of the reformers, fometimes ventured to start objections to his arguments, and fupported her objections with too much firmnefs and ability. This was more difagreeable to the king than ſhe imagined; and, in a peevifh humour, he complained of it to Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, and the lord chancellor Wriotheſly, who greedily ſeized the opportunity of inflaming his anger, by repreſenting the queen as a moſt dangerous heretic, and the great encourager of heretics; and wrought up his paſſion to ſuch a pitch, that he directed the lord chancellor to draw up articles of impeachment againſt her, which he ſigned. But the chancellor having dropped this paper, it was found by one who carried it to the queen. Alarmed at her danger, and ſuſpecting the cauſe of the king's diſpleaſure, ſhe reſolved to correct her error and regain his favour. When ſhe waited upon him, and he propoſed to renew the diſpute in which they had been engaged, ſhe modeſtly declined the combat, ſaying, that it did not become her, a weak woman,

woman, to dispute with one who, by his superior learning, was entitled to dictate not only to her, but to the whole world; and that if ever she had pretended to dispute any thing he advanced, it was for the sake of information, and to engage him in discourse, which diverted his pain, and from which she received the greatest instruction and delight. This seasonable piece of flattery appeased his anger, and revived his affection. He embraced her tenderly, and assured her of his unchangeable favour and protection. Soon after this, as they were walking in the garden, the chancellor entered, followed by forty pursuivants, to seize the queen, and carry her to the Tower: but the king advanced to meet him, and, after treating him very roughly, calling him knave, fool, and beast, he commanded him to be gone. The queen interposed in his favour,; to whom Henry said, smiling: "Poor soul! you know not how little this "man deserves your good offices⁵²⁴." The queen having made this fortunate escape, took care not to renew the dispute with so dangerous an antagonist.

The king's jealous and violent spirit proved more fatal to two of his greatest subjects, the duke of Norfolk and his son the earl of Surry. The duke had long enjoyed a very high degree of favour, and had merited that favour by the most important services to his country, and the most unlimited compliance with the king's will in all things, even in opposition to his religious principles, his family, and party con-

The duke
of Norfolk
and the
earl of
Surry im-
prisoned.

⁵²⁴ Knox, vol. ii. p. 58. Speed, p. 780. Herbert, p. 263. Burnet, p. 344.

A. D. 1546.

nexions. His high descent, his noble alliances, his places of power and profit, his immense estate, and his numerous followers, rendered him by far the greatest and most powerful subject in the kingdom, if not too great and powerful for a subject. Though he had complied with all the changes in the church to please the king, he was zealously attached to the ancient establishment, and was the head of the popish party, which added greatly to his influence. His daughter had been married to the king's natural and beloved son the duke of Richmond. Two of his nieces had been queens, and he had abandoned them both, the innocent as well as the guilty, to gratify the king's passions, and preserve his favour. Notwithstanding all these circumstances, which seemed to render his greatness perfectly secure, he and his son were both arrested in one day, December 7th, and conducted to the Tower, without having apprehended themselves to have been in any danger, and without knowing of one another's misfortunes. At what time, and for what reasons, Henry conceived this violent animosity against the duke and his son, who had so long possessed his favour, it is impossible to discover with certainty. His enmity against them could not have been of an old date, as he had a little time before given them essential proofs of his confidence and favour, particularly by appointing the earl of Surry governor of Boulogne. The crimes of which they were accused, if crimes they can be called, were so frivolous, that they could not be the real causes of a wrath so violent and implacable: it seems probable that it was their greatness rather than

than their guilt, and the king's excessive jealousy, inflamed by artful whisperers, that involved them in this distress. These whisperers were the more dangerous, that they were of the duke's own family, which was unhappily divided. He had been separated some years from his duchess, who was his most inveterate enemy; and the earl of Surry was at variance with his sister, the duchess of Richmond; and both these ladies gave every information they could, the one against her husband, and the other against her brother, putting the worst construction on all their words and actions⁵⁸⁵. Some other persons, who bore no good-will to the duke and his son, as Elizabeth Holland, who had been the duke's mistress, sir Richard Southwell, and sir Edmund Knivet, contributed to increase the king's jealousy, by reporting some of their expressions of anger and discontent. A dryness had also taken place between them and the Seymour family, who, on account of their near relation to the prince, expected to have the chief direction of affairs in the next reign, and dreaded their great power and ambitious spirit⁵⁸⁶.

A. D. 1546.

The earl of Surry, being a commoner, was tried at Guildhall January 13th, before the lord chancellor, the lord mayor, and other commissioners, by a jury of commoners. The chief thing laid to his charge was, his quartering the arms of Edward the Confessor, which was considered as a proof of his aspiring to the throne. To this he answered, that his ancestors had borne those arms,

A. D. 1547.
The earl
of Surry
beheaded.⁵⁸⁵ Herbert, p. 264.⁵⁸⁶ Ibid.

and

A. D. 1547.

and that he was authoris'd to bear them by the heralds. It was proved, that he kept certain Italians in his family, who were suspected to be spies; that he conversed much with foreigners, which made it probable that he corresponded with cardinal Pole; that he had dropped some expressions reflecting upon the king and his government, which indicated a design to raise a rebellion: To these strange accusations he made acute, ingenious, and spirited answers. But his acuteness, ingenuity, and boldness, and even his innocence, availed him nothing. He was found guilty of high treason, for which, on January 19th, he was beheaded⁵⁸⁷.

Duke of
Norfolk
attainted.

The duke of Norfolk discovered an extreme anxiety to save his own life, and the honours and fortunes of his family after his commitment. With this view, he wrote a very pathetic and affecting letter to the king, containing the most solemn protestations of his innocence and loyalty, and the most earnest supplications for mercy. Finding that had no effect, he went to the other extreme, of aggravating his own guilt, and the guilt of his unhappy son, in a confession he emitted before a committee of the privy council⁵⁸⁸; but without avail: Henry was implacable. The parliament met January 14th; and on the 18th of that month, the day before the earl of Surry was beheaded, a bill was brought into the house of peers for attainting Thomas duke of Norfolk and his son Henry earl of Surry, and read a first time. On the 19th it was read a second time, and on the 20th it was read a

⁵⁸⁷ Herbert, p. 264.⁵⁸⁸ Ibid. p. 265, 266.

third

third time and passed, and sent to the commons, from whom it was returned on the 24th. So impatient was Henry in his last moments to accomplish the ruin of a nobleman connected with him by many endearing ties, who had done him many important services, and had complied with his will in all things during his whole reign. The bill received the royal assent by commission on Thursday the 27th, and on Friday the 28th, early in the morning, the king died. The parliament met on the Saturday and did business; and was prorogued to Monday the last of January; and on that day the commons being sent for to the house of peers, the chancellor acquainted both houses, that king Henry VIII. had died on the Friday before, early in the morning. The late king's last will was read, and the parliament was dissolved⁵⁸⁹. The death of the king saved the duke of Norfolk's life; as it was not thought proper to begin the new reign with an execution of the first nobleman in the kingdom.

Henry's last will was dated December 30th, A. D. 1546; and as he was authorised by an act of parliament to regulate by his testament the succession to the crown, it came to be a matter of great importance at that time, and a subject of no little controversy afterwards. Accordingly, by his testament written on paper, he bequeathed his crown and dominions to his son prince Edward and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten; failing such

Henry's
last will.

⁵⁸⁹ Journals, vol. i. p. 287—291.

A.D. 1547.

heirs, to his daughter the princess Mary and her heirs; failing these, to his daughter the princess Elizabeth and her heirs; failing these, to the lady Fraunces, eldest daughter of his late sister the French queen, and her heirs; failing these, to the lady Eleanor, youngest daughter of the French queen and her heirs; and failing these, to his next lawful heir⁵⁹⁰. His two daughters Mary and Elizabeth being unmarried, it was declared, that if they married without the consent of his executors, or the major part of them, they should lose their right to the succession, and be considered as being dead without lawful heirs. If this was really the last will of Henry VIII. this part of it appears to have been dictated by passion, rather than by a regard to justice: for by it the heirs of his eldest sister, Margaret queen of Scotland, were put out of the natural order of succession, if not altogether excluded. To this queen he gave 3000*l.* in plate and jewels, and 1000*l.* in money, besides her jointure. To each of his two daughters he gave 10,000*l.* in plate, jewels, and furniture, as a marriage portion, and an annuity of 3000*l.* to live upon while they were unmarried. He gave considerable legacies to each of his sixteen executors, and to forty-six other noblemen and gentlemen. He did not forget to appoint a great number of masses to be said for the health of his soul⁵⁹¹. Objections have been made to the genuineness of this will; but they seem only to make it probable that it was

590 Rym. tom. xv. p. 110—117.

591 Ibid.

made

made in haste, and that Henry was assisted in the writing of his subscription ⁵⁹². A. D. 1547.

When this will was made, Henry was in so great distress, that it was visible to all about him that he could not long survive; but so awful was his character, and so dreadful his displeasure, that none dared to give him the least hint of his approaching dissolution. At length, when it was evident that he had not many hours to live, sir Anthony Denny had the courage to acquaint him that his death was drawing near, and to ask him if they should send for any clergyman. He replied, If any, Cranmer; who was at Croydon. When he arrived, the king was speechless; but knowing him, he gave him his hand. Being desired by Cranmer to give some sign that he died in the hopes of salvation through the mercy of God and the merits of Jesus Christ, he squeezed his hand and expired, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth year of his reign ⁵⁹³.

Henry was six times married. Two of his queens were beheaded; two of them divorced; one of them died soon after her marriage, possessed of her husband's affections; the last, after narrowly escaping the block, survived him. By his first queen, Catherine of Spain, he had two sons who died in their infancy, and one daughter, named Mary, afterwards queen of England. By his second queen, Anne Boleyn, he had one daughter, named Elizabeth, who succeeded her sister in the

Marriages
and issue.

⁵⁹² Burnet, b. iii. Records, No. xxx. Harbin on Hereditary Right, &c., p. 186—208.

⁵⁹³ Burnet, p. 349.

throne.

A. D. 1547.

throne. By his third queen, Jane Seymour, he had one son, named Edward, his immediate successor. By his last three queens he had no issue. By Elizabeth Blount, daughter of sir John Blount, he had a natural son named Henry, of whom he was exceedingly fond. Before he was seven years of age he made him a knight of the garter, created him earl of Nottingham, duke of Richmond and Somerset, appointed him warden of the marches towards Scotland, and granted him many great estates. This young prince, who was universally admired for the beauty of his person, the variety of his accomplishments, and the excellence of his dispositions, was married to the lady Mary Howard, daughter of the duke of Norfolk, but died before the consummation of his marriage, when he was only about seventeen years old.

His character.

Very different characters have been given of Henry VIII. by different authors. Some have represented him as a brave, wise, just, and merciful prince, with few vices or imperfections; while others have painted him in the blackest colours, as a cruel unrelenting tyrant, with few or no virtues or good qualities⁵⁹⁴. Those, however, who have delineated his character with the greatest care and candour, have pursued a middle course, by doing justice to his good actions and commensurable qualifications, while they have not overlooked his criminal passions and his vices⁵⁹⁵. The following short description of the most striking features in the

⁵⁹⁴ Lewis's *Barriot King*. Strype, vol. i. p. 390, 391. 404—407. Sir Walter Raleigh's Pref. ⁵⁹⁵ Herbert, p. 266, 267. Burnet, p. 362.

character

character of this prince may, it is imagined, be justified by authentic monuments and the real transactions of his reign. He was very tall, and in his youth he was uncommonly handsome, strong, and active. He delighted and excelled in all manly exercises; as riding, tilting, hunting, hawking, leaping, wrestling, &c. His gait was stately, and his air majestic. "Who," says a contemporary writer, "is so dull as not to see in that most serene countenance the signs of a king? Who can behold, even afar off, that august majesty of his whole person, and not say he was born to a diadem⁵⁹⁶." These personal charms and accomplishments being visible to all, gained him great admiration and popularity in the first part of his reign. He was fond of music, a good performer on several instruments, and no contemptible composer⁵⁹⁷. Great pains had been taken with his education, and he had a genius capable of acquiring knowledge. He spoke several languages fluently, particularly Latin and French: but unfortunately his favourite study was school-divinity; in which he imagined himself so great a doctor, that he entered the lists with Martin Luther, in his famous book *De Septem Sacramentis*; for which he received such a deluge of praise as no author of an inferior rank must ever expect. We have no reason to suspect that he was deficient in personal courage, though he was not forward in exposing himself to danger. His understanding was good when it was not blinded by some reigning passion. The truth seems to be,

⁵⁹⁶ Morrison's Apomaxis.⁵⁹⁷ Sir John Hawkins.

A. D. 1547.

that the ungovernable impetuosity of his passions was the great defect in his character, the source of all his errors and of all his crimes. In his youth the love of pleasure was his reigning passion, and an extravagant fondness for royal feasts, tilts, tournaments, disguising, and the other pompous expensive diversions of the great in those times. About these he employed his thoughts: in these he spent his time, and squandered away the treasures that had been hoarded by his father⁵⁹⁸. To this he was also prompted by his vanity, and encouraged by his ministers, particularly by his great favourite, cardinal Wolsey, for very obvious reasons. As he advanced in years, and began to interfere more in business, passions of a darker complexion and more dangerous tendency appeared. From his father he inherited an extreme jealousy of all who were related to the royal family, and could be supposed to entertain the most distant thoughts of the throne. To this several persons of high rank fell a sacrifice. His excessive self-conceit, and the high opinion he entertained of his own superior wisdom, though it was rather a ridiculous than a criminal passion, had the very worst effects. It rendered him susceptible, or rather greedy, of flattery, and highly pleased with praise, with which he was accosted on all occasions. The two great parties, the friends of the pope and the favourers of the reformation, tried to exceed one another in the arts of flattery, and in a servile compliance with all his humours, which rendered him intolerably proud, obstinate, and im-

⁵⁹⁸ See Hall's Chronicle, *passim*.

patient of contradiction. This also increased his authority, subjected both these parties to his will, and put it in his power to do whatever he pleased. The court that was paid him by the two great rivals, the emperor and the king of France, contributed still further to inflame his pride; and in spite of all his faults, it rendered him popular among his own subjects, who were pleased to see their sovereign the arbiter of Europe. Though prodigality and avarice are opposite passions, they are often found in the same person; and Henry was both profuse and covetous in the extreme. Of his prodigality, the immense sums he squandered are a sufficient proof; and his history affords many evidences of his avarice. At two different times he borrowed great sums from many of his subjects, and procured acts from his servile parliaments, absolving him from the obligation of repaying them, though he had given his creditors security under the privy seal. But of all his passions, his anger was the most terrible. When he conceived a jealousy or dislike of any person, their ruin was resolved; no submissions, no supplications, no intercessions, no evidences of their innocence, could save them from destruction. In a word, the character he is said to have given of himself, "That he had never spared a man in his anger, nor a woman in his lust," seems to be too well founded; and they are not inexcusable who have denominated him a tyrant, if they had not forgotten to add, that he was possessed of many valuable

A. D. 1547.

accomplishments; capable at times of generous and laudable actions, and of kind affections; and that he had been an instrument in the hand of Providence of much good to his subjects and their posterity, by dissolving their connection with the court and church of Rome.

THE
HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I. PART II.

The Civil and Military History of Scotland,
from the Accession of James IV. A. D.
1488, to the Death of James V. A. D.
1542.

SECTION I.

*From the Accession of James IV. A. D. 1488, to
the Accession of James V. A. D. 1513.*

THE histories of England and Scotland were
so much interwoven in this period, that it
was impossible to disentangle them on all occa-
sions. This is the reason that several of the most
important events in the history of Scotland have
been related at full length in the first part of this

A. D. 1488.

Affairs of
Scotland
and Eng-
land in-
terwoven.

A. D. 1488.

chapter, which will shorten this second part; as a slight mention of these events in their proper places will be sufficient.

Death of
James III.
unknown.

The fate of the unfortunate king James III. was for some time unknown, both to his friends and enemies. The former hoped, and the latter feared, that he had escaped to a small fleet commanded by sir Andrew Wood of Largo, that lay in the Forth only a few miles from the field of battle. The leaders of the victorious army sent a message to sir Andrew Wood to come and speak with the prince at Leith, which he refused to do till they gave the lords Seaton and Fleming as hostages for his safe return. When sir Andrew appeared before the prince and his council at Leith, he was asked, if he knew what was become of the king; to which he answered in the negative. He was then asked, who were in those boats that had been seen plying between his ships and the shore soon after the late battle. To which he replied, That he and a party of his men had come on shore to assist their sovereign against his rebellious subjects; but hearing that the battle was over, they returned to their ships. To this he added, that if his gracious master was still alive, he would defend him to the utmost of his power against all traitors. This bold declaration was very disagreeable to those who heard it; but their concern for their hostages made them dismiss him without any injury.

Corona-
tion, &c.

The king's death did not long remain a secret; and the prince was crowned June 24th at Edin-

* Buchanan, lib. xiii. Abercromby, vol. ii.

burgh,

burgh, in the sixteenth year of his age². Few of the nobles or great barons were present at this solemnity, except those who had taken arms against the late king. The rest of the nobility, particularly those of the north and west, were greatly offended and grieved at these transactions; and since they were too late to preserve the life, resolved to revenge the death, of their sovereign, and to deliver the young king from the murderer of his father. In the mean time the predominant party were very active in improving and securing the advantage they had gained. The castle of Edinburgh surrendered on being summoned by a herald; and the custody of it was committed to the lord Hales³. They obtained many valuable grants of lands, honours, and offices from the king, or rather gave them to one another⁴. The brave and patriotic sir Andrew Wood was prevailed upon, by persuasions, favours, and promises, to attack and take five English ships that had been sent to the assistance of the late king, but now infested the coasts and interrupted the commerce of the Forth⁵.

The young king was conducted to the castle of Stirling, of which sir John Lundy, one of the party, was appointed governor. While he resided there, and had leisure for reflection, he began to feel great remorse for the part he had acted against his indulgent father. He communicated

Penitence
of the
king.

² Holling. p. 287.

³ Black Acts, f. 83.

⁴ Register of the great seal, 1 James IV.

⁵ Buchan. lib. xiii.

A.D. 1488.

the uneasiness of his mind to the dean of the chapel royal; and it was probably by his advice that he began to wear a chain of iron about his body, to which he added a new link every year⁶.

A parliament.

The penitence of the prince could not be very pleasing to the partners, or rather authors, of his guilt. To secure themselves from punishment, they thought it prudent to procure the approbation of parliament while they were in power. A parliament was accordingly summoned to meet at Edinburgh October 6th; and by their 14th act, intituled, "The Proposition of the Debait of the " Field of Striviling," it is declared, "that the " slaughter committed and done in the field of " Striviling, quhare our soverane lord's father " happened to bi slane, and uthers divers his bar- " ronis and liegis, was allutterly in thair default, " and colourit dessait done be him and his perverst " counsell, divers times before the said field; and " that our soverane lord that now is, and that the " trew lordis and barrones that was with him in the " samen field, war innocent, free and quyte, of the " said slaughters done in the said field, and all per- " suit of the occasioun and cause of the samen." This parliament consisted chiefly of those true lords and barons (as they called themselves) who had taken arms against their sovereign, without any just or even plausible reason, and had put him and many of his loyal subjects to death, of which they gravely declared themselves innocent,

⁶ Pitt's Collec. p. 96.

though

though all the world knew they were guilty. A. D. 1482.
 Copies of this act, sealed with the great seal, and
 the seals of all the members of this parliament,
 were ordered to be sent to the pope, and to the
 kings of France, Spain, and Denmark⁷. Having
 thus acquitted themselves, they took care to punish
 those who had hazarded their lives in battle for the
 late king; but, for very obvious reasons, they did
 this with moderation⁸.

Several noblemen and gentlemen who highly A. D. 1489.
Insurrec-
tion.
 disapproved the conduct of the prevailing party,
 yet seeing the rightful heir upon the throne,
 thought it prudent to submit to what could not be
 retrieved. Others breathed nothing but revenge,
 and determined to rescue their prince from those
 who had taken advantage of his youth, and be-
 trayed him into a rebellion against his father.
 Alexander lord Forbes, attended by his vassals,
 carried the late king's shirt, all torn and bloody,
 on the point of a spear, through Aberdeen and
 other places, calling upon all the subjects to arise
 and revenge the slaughter of their sovereign. The
 lord Gordon and other chieftains in the north were
 no less active in raising their followers. The earl
 of Lennox was the first that took the field, and
 marched from the west at the head of two thousand
 men to join his confederates in the north. But
 he was surprised and defeated by the lord Drum-
 mond, as he and his men lay in a careless manner
 on the banks of the Forth, a few miles above
 Stirling. This so discouraged the insurgents in the

⁷ Black Acts, f. 83.

⁸ Ibid. f. 80.

north,

A. D. 1489.

north, that they disbanded and retired to their own homes⁹. The earl of Lennox and the other leaders of this insurrection having made their submissions, were pardoned and received into favour, which restored tranquillity to the country, and gave stability to the government.

Henry VII. from the day of his accession cultivated peace with Scotland; and to render it more solid and permanent, negotiated several intermarriages between the two royal families¹⁰. But the death of James III. put an end to all these schemes: for though it had been agreed that James, then prince of Scotland, should be married to one of the daughters of Edward IV. no regard was paid to that agreement; and in the first parliament of this reign a tax was imposed to defray the expences of a splendid embassy to be sent into France, Spain, and other countries, to find out a proper match for the young king¹¹. Henry, however, still persisted in his pacific views; and the truce then subsisting between the two nations was uncommonly well observed. He even granted a protection to his well-beloved friend (as he calls him) Archibald earl of Angus, (February 12th, A. D. 1490,) who had been the chief instrument of the late revolution in Scotland, to pass through England in his way to Amiens, with eighty persons in company¹².

A. D. 1490.
Parliament.

A parliament met at Edinburgh February 15th, which may be called the healing parliament. It

⁹ Buchan. *ibid*.¹¹ Black Acts, f. 79.¹⁰ See vol. v. p. 310.¹² Rym. tom. xii. p. 358.

made an act for extinguishing the party and family feuds of the nobility, and uniting them in the cause of their king and country. Several wise regulations were made for collecting the royal revenues, particularly the rents of the crown lands; and some of the principal noblemen and gentlemen were appointed to superintend the collection of them in their several districts. A committee was commissioned to examine the public accompts. A privy council, consisting of two bishops, two abbots, and six lords, was chosen; and ten other lords and gentlemen were appointed to assist the council, when they happened to be at court, or when they were called; and all the great officers, as the lord chancellor, the master of the household, the chamberlain, privy seal, secretary, and clerk register, were declared to be of the privy council, in virtue of their offices: and the king, it is said, "had humblyt his hienes to promit and grant in parliament, to abyde and remane at thair coun-
"salles quhill the next parliament." The king further consented, that no gifts, signatures, remissions, or other letters, should pass without the advice and consent of the lords of the secret council; and that all such letters should be subscribed by the king, and as many of the council as were present, to the number of six at the fewest, of which the chanicellor should be one; and that all letters not thus subscribed should be null, and of no effect. An act of revocation of the grants of the young king since his accession was also made. This was a self-denying ordinance in the predominant

A.D. 1496.

nant party; but it is probable that it was not very strictly executed, like many other acts of the same kind in both the British kingdoms. Embassies were appointed to be sent into France, Spain, and Denmark, for renewing the ancient alliances with these states, and obtaining commercial privileges. Several wise laws were made for the strict observation of the truce with England, the due administration of justice, and protecting the poor from oppression; for regulating the coining of money; encouraging the fisheries, &c. In a word, it will be difficult to find an assembly animated with a better spirit, and that made a greater number of wise and patriotic laws than this parliament¹¹. Archibald Bell-the-cat, the potent and turbulent earl of Angus, was not present: he had probably set out on his pilgrimage to Amiens, to obtain the pardon of his sins.

A.D. 1497.
A plot.

The internal tranquillity of the kingdom was now perfectly restored, and the animosity of the two parties, into which it had been divided, seemed to have been extinguished; when a plot was formed, which, if it had been successful, would have involved both the king and kingdom in great distress. John Ramsay, lord Bothwell, and sir Thomas Todd of Shereshaws, two of the late king's favourite servants, retired into England after his death, and meditated revenge. Having obtained access to king Henry, they proposed, by the assistance of their friends in Scotland, with whom they kept up a private correspondence, to deliver the king of

¹¹ Black Acts, f. 84—90.

Scots, and his brother the duke of Rofs, into his hands, and desired only some pecuniary aid. Henry had neither the virtue to reject this base proposal, nor generosity to grant them any thing considerable. An indenture was made at Greenwich April 16th, A. D. 1491, " betwene the right excellent and myghty prince Henry, by the grace of God, king of Englund and of Fraunce, and lord of Irland, on the one partie; and John lord Bothwell and sir Thomas Toddee, knight of the realme of Scotland, as well for and in name of themselves, as also of dyvers other named in the said indentures on the other partie.

" It is, for dyvers considerations in the same indentures declared, amonges other things expressly shewed, that the right honourable Jamys erle of Boughan, and the saide sir Thomas, shall take, bringe, and delyver into the saide king of Englundis handes the king of Scottes now reynyng, and his brother the duke of Roos, or at the teste the saide king of Scotland.

" The saide king of Englund, by way of ayde and assistance, geving them for 'th' achfving their said purpose, hath lent and delyverd unto the saide sir Thomas, as well for the saide erle of Boughan as for himselve, the some of CCLXVII. XIII. s. ijd. &c. " "

The paltry sum of 266l. 13s. 4d. was to be repaid at Michaelmas, and sir Thomas Todd gave his son and heir as a hostage for the repayment.

¹⁴ Rym. tom. xii. p. 440.

A. D. 1491.

It is difficult to form any judgment of this strange transaction. If Henry had either desired or hoped to get possession of the person of the king of Scotland, he would certainly have afforded a more liberal aid to the conspirators. It is hardly credible that the earl of Buchan would engage in the base design of betraying his king, who was his relation, to a foreign prince. It seems to me most probable, that the two unhappy exiles, Bothwell and Todd, were reduced to great distress, and that they fell upon this device to procure a present supply of money. However these things may be, we hear of no steps that were taken towards the execution of this plot, and it remained a profound secret till the above paper was published by Mr. Rymer, A. D. 1711.

Parliament.

In a parliament that met at Edinburgh 18th May, Patrick Hepburn lord Hales, who had lately been created earl of Bothwell, with the bishop and dean of Glasgow, were appointed ambassadors to the courts of France and Spain, for two special purposes: First, To find out a proper match, and negotiate a marriage for the king, for which they were to be furnished with full powers: Secondly, To renew the ancient alliances with these states, and obtain additional privileges, for which instructions were to be given them, with the approbation of the king and his council¹⁵. Embassies for the same purposes had been appointed by the two preceding parliaments, but had not been sent; the reason of

¹⁵ Black Acts, f. 90.

which

which seems to have been this: The king, when prince, and all those who had joined with him against his father, had been excommunicated by the pope; and an embassy from a prince, in these circumstances, could not have expected a favourable reception in any catholic court. Application had been made to the court of Rome for a revocation of that sentence, and a bull of revocation was now daily expected. Accordingly, Andrew Foreman, who had solicited the cause of his king and countrymen, and was in great favour with pope Alexander VI., not long after returned to Scotland, and brought a consecrated rose of gold, with a consolatory letter from the pope to the king, dated at Rome June 27th, A. D. 1491, exhorting him to mitigate his sorrow for the part he had reluctantly acted against his father, and to apply himself to the cultivation of honour, piety, and virtue. He brought also a bull, empowering the abbots of Paisley and Jedburgh to absolve all who had rebelled against the late king, upon professing their repentance for what they had done¹⁶. Sir James Oglevey of Airley was appointed ambassador to the court of Denmark, to remove any umbrage that might have been taken at the late proceedings, to renew the ancient alliances, and to procure commercial privileges; and he acquitted himself so well, that he was created a peer on his return. This parliament made several wise laws for the

¹⁶ Register Office, Edin. Abercromby, vol. xi. p. 497. Hollingsh. p. 409.

improve-

A. D. 1491.

improvement, defence, and good government of the kingdom.

Truce.

The last truce between the two British nations was now near expiring; but as they were both cordially inclined to peace, the commissioners of the two kings met at Coldstream in December this year, and, on the 21st of that month, concluded and signed a new truce for five years from that day, with all the usual articles, and with some new ones to render it more effectual¹⁷.

Peaceable times.

Scotland, for some years, enjoyed external peace and internal tranquillity, and its youthful monarch spent one part of his time in visiting the different provinces of his kingdom, accompanied by his council, to enforce the impartial administration of justice, and the due execution of the laws; and the rest of it, in the sports of the field, and in those manly and martial exercises that were the favourite amusements of the great in those times. Happy are the times in which the great are thus employed, though they furnish few of the materials of which history is commonly composed.

A. D. 1493.
Parliament.

A great number of excellent laws and regulations were made in a parliament that met at Edinburgh June 16th, A. D. 1493. We shall have an opportunity of considering several of these laws in the subsequent chapters of this book. It is sufficient to say of them in general in this place, that the makers of them appear to have been real patriots, and to have been well acquainted with the true interests of their country; and that those writers

¹⁷ Rym. tom. xii. p. 465.

who

who have represented our ancestors in this period as rude and ignorant, and little better than barbarians, have not done them justice ¹⁸. A. D. 1493.

Henry VII. still continued to discover great anxiety to preserve peace with Scotland. With this view he gave a commission, 28th May this year, to Richard bishop of St. Asaph; William Tyler, governor of Berwick; Henry Eynsworth; and John Carlington; to treat with the commissioners of the king of Scots about a perpetual peace, or a long truce: and to render the peace or truce more solid, he authorised them to propose a marriage between that king and the princess Catherine, grand-daughter of his uncle Edmund duke of Somerset ¹⁹. King James granted a commission June 22d, to William bishop of Aberdeen; John Ross, of Montgrenan; John Fresale, dean of the king's chapel of Restalrig; and Richard Lawson, clerk of justiciary, to treat with the commissioners of the king of England about the prolongation of the truce; but he gave them no authority to treat of a perpetual peace, or of a marriage ²⁰. The commissioners of the two kings met at Edinburgh June 25th, and prolonged the truce to the last day of April, A. D. 1501, without making any mention of a peace or marriage ²¹. King James at this time, and for several years after, seems to have had an aversion to Henry, and to have been determined against a marriage with an

¹⁸ Black Acts, f. 94.

¹⁹ Rym. tom. xii. p. 531.

²⁰ Ibid. p. 537.

²¹ Ibid. p. 534.

A. D. 1493.



English princeſs. But he, very fortunately for Britain, changed his mind.

Commif-
ſions.

Though the truce was thus prolonged, and Henry had paid to James one thouſand marks for damages pretended to have been done to his ſubjects at ſea, but in reality to gain his friendship, he was ſtill apprehenſive of a breach with Scotland, and in order to prevent it, he appointed commiſſioners May 22d to meet with thoſe of the king of Scots, to remove all cauſes of quarrel, and to ſettle a perpetual peace between the two kingdoms²². He granted alſo a ſafe-conduct to commiſſioners from the king of Scots July 28th²³. But we hear of nothing that was done in conſequence of theſe commiſſions, and it is probable the commiſſioners never met.

A. D. 1495.
Negoti-
ations.

Henry had now good reaſon to ſuſpect, and had received intelligence, that James's diſpoſitions were unfriendly. He took care, therefore, to put the north in a proper poſture of defence. He gave a commiſſion, March 22d, to Thomas earl of Surry, to array all the able-bodied men between the rivers Trent and Tweed; and at the ſame time he gave a ſimilar commiſſion to Richard Fox, biſhop of Durham, for the counties of Durham and Northumberland. In theſe commiſſions he acquainted them, that he had received intelligence that his enemies of Scotland and of foreign parts intended to invade the north of England with a great army²⁴. He appointed his ſecond ſon,

²² Rym. tom. xii. p. 554.²³ Ibid.²⁴ Ibid. p. 568.

prince

prince Henry, warden of the east, middle, and west marches; and constituted Thomas earl of Surry; Richard bishop of Durham; sir William Tyler, captain of Berwick; John Heron, of Ford; and John Carlington, his deputies, May 22d, with full powers to hear the complaints, and redress all the injuries that had been done to the Scots by any of his subjects, and to punish those who had done them. At the same time he directed them to array and exercise all the men in the northern counties, and to place watches in proper places to warn them of the approach of an enemy²⁵. About a month after, June 23d, he made a still greater effort to gain the king of Scots and prevent a war, by giving a commission to the bishops of Durham and Carlisle, the lords Nevil and Dacres, and sir William Tyler, to propose and negotiate a marriage between king James and his eldest daughter the princess Margaret²⁶. But James had contracted engagements with the king of France that made him slight all these advances of the English monarch.

A. D. 1495.

A parliament met at Edinburgh June 13th, A. D. 1496. in which several wise laws were made for the encouragement of learning and commerce, and for regulating the prices of provisions, of labour, and of goods of various kinds, &c. &c.²⁷ No mention was made of war, or of any preparation for it in this parliament.

A. D. 1496.
Parliament.

Henry VII. did not yet despair of detaching the king of Scotland from the interest of his

Perkin Warbeck.

²⁵ Rym. p. 569.

²⁶ Ibid. p. 572.

²⁷ Black Acts, f. 101.

A. D. 1496.

enemies on the continent, who had given him much trouble, by supporting Perkin Warbec, a pretender to his crown. He became the more earnest to gain this point, that he had received intelligence that this adventurer was to make his next appearance in Scotland, and from thence to invade England, with a royal army. He therefore empowered his former commissioners to make James another offer of his eldest daughter in marriage, an offer which he knew it was the interest of that prince to accept. Such was his earnestness to accomplish this design, that he gave a separate commission, at the same time, to Richard Fox, bishop of Durham, his most confidential minister, to propose and negotiate that marriage; and if James had been so wise as to listen to that proposal, he would probably have obtained very advantageous terms²⁸. But he was too far engaged in other counsels. The arrival of Perkin Warbec in the court of Scotland, his marriage to the lady Jane Gordon, and the invasion of England by an army of Scots commanded by their king, have been already related²⁹. It must be confessed, that the conduct of king James on this occasion cannot be vindicated on any other principle but this: That he believed Perkin Warbec to be the real duke of York, the only surviving son of Edward IV. and undoubted heir to the crown of England; and it was probably this belief that made him decline an alliance with Henry, by the marriage of his eldest daughter. If we could further suppose

²⁸ Black Acts, f. 635.²⁹ See part i. sect. i.

that he had discovered the plot above mentioned, A. D. 1496.
 into which Henry had entered with lord Bothwell
 and sir Thomas Todd, he would be fully justified
 in attempting to pull down a prince who had
 formed a scheme to deprive him of his crown and
 his liberty. But we have no evidence that he had
 any knowledge of that plot.

The invasion of England by king James this A. D. 1497.
 year, the departure of Warbec from Scotland, A. D. 1498.
 and the truce between the two kingdoms, con- Truce.
 cluded at the castle of Aylon by the mediation
 of the Spanish ambassador, have all been already
 narrated³⁰. There was one point, however, about
 which the commissioners could not agree, viz.
 which of the two kings had been the aggressor
 in the late war, and the violator of the former
 truce, each of them throwing the blame upon the
 other. But d'Acala, the Spanish ambassador to
 both kings, prevailed upon them to refer this
 troublesome question to the king and queen of
 Spain³¹. A decent way of laying it asleep, and it
 was never determined. Great difficulties, besides
 this, occurred in the concluding of this treaty,
 and Henry was obliged to give up several points
 for the sake of peace, and to save the money his
 parliament had granted him for the war. His
 commissioners demanded that Perkin Warbec
 should be delivered to their master as an infamous
 impostor, unworthy of the protection of any prince.
 But this demand was rejected with disdain. They
 demanded also, that reparation should be made

³⁰ See part i. sect. i.

³¹ Rym. p. 671.

A. D. 1498.

for the depredations the Scots had committed in their two late invasions, which was positively refused. To remove these difficulties, they proposed an interview between the two kings at Newcastle. But this James declined, saying, he was willing to make peace, but would not go a begging for peace. The truth seems to be, that the Scots had been considerable gainers by the war, and would willingly have continued it on any fair pretence.

A. D. 1499.
Treaty.

The separate article that had been added to the treaty of Aylon by the bishop of Durham and the Spanish ambassador prolonging the truce during the joint lives of the two kings and a year after, had not been ratified. Henry, wishing to prevent all future alarms from the north in his time, sent Robert Rydon, vice-admiral of England, to the court of Scotland, then at Stirling, in the summer of this year, to procure the ratification of that article, or to make a new treaty to the same purpose. This ambassador negotiated and signed a new treaty July 12th, which was ratified by James on the 20th of that month³². But before it could be ratified by Henry, an event happened that threatened to put an end to all these peaceful counsels, and to rekindle the flames of war.

Skirmish at
Norham.

A company of young men from the North side of the Tweed, being on a visit to their acquaintances in the town of Norham, were led by their curiosity to take a near and attentive view of the castle. The garrison suspecting that curiosity was

³² Rym. p. 722. Register Office, Edin.

not their only object; first attacked them with offensive language, and afterwards with more dangerous weapons. The Scots, being unarmed, were put to flight, and some of them killed. When king James, naturally warm and high-spirited, heard of this, he flew into a violent rage, and declared, That it was impossible for the Scots and English to live in peace. He immediately dispatched a herald to the court of England to demand satisfaction; and if that was denied, to denounce war. Henry, who sincerely desired peace, gave a mild answer to this demand, declaring, That he had no knowledge of what had happened; that he would inquire into it, and punish those who should be found to deserve punishment. The bishop of Durham, to whom the castle belonged, wrote a soothing letter to king James, expressing great concern for what had happened, and promising ample satisfaction³³.

By these means the resentment of king James was appeased, and he began to form more salutary and peaceful designs. He wrote to the bishop of Durham, who he knew possessed the favour and confidence of his sovereign, and desired a conference with him at Melrose on matters of great importance to both kingdoms. The prelate having obtained his master's permission, waited upon James at the time and place appointed. The affair of Norham being compromised, the king had a private conversation with the bishop, in which he observed that the most effectual means of

Marriage
proposed.

³³ Lefly, p. 323. Abercromby, p. 508.

A. D. 1499.



establishing a firm and permanent peace between the two nations, would be an intimate union of the two royal families, by a marriage between him and the princess Margaret, which he very much desired, and which he requested him to propose and promote. The prelate, who, on account of his situation, was a constant sufferer by war, and sincerely wished for peace, professed himself much honoured by the confidence reposed in him, and declared that he would exert all his influence to promote so desirable an union ³⁴.

A. D. 1500.
Proposal
accepted.

The bishop went immediately to court, and communicated this proposal to king Henry, who received it with joy, as it was what he had long wished, and had twice proposed. He appointed his great confident Richard Fox, bishop of Durham, his ambassador to the king of Scots September 11th, A. D. 1499, with full powers to settle all the conditions of a marriage between that prince and the princess Margaret his eldest daughter ³⁵. As the parties were within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, and the princess was only in the eleventh year of her age, Henry made application to the court of Rome, and obtained a dispensation from the pope, dated July 28th, A. D. 1500, permitting the marriage to be celebrated, and declaring it lawful, notwithstanding the consanguinity of the parties and the non-age of the princess.

A. D. 1501.
Commissions.

The youth of the princess gave abundance of time to settle all the preliminaries of this marriage, and the other treaties with which it was to be ac-

³⁴ Buchan, lib. xiii.

³⁵ Rym. p. 729.

A. D. 1501.

accompanied. Henry granted, May 9th, A. D. 1501, a safe-conduct to Robert archbishop of Glasgow, Patrick earl of Bothwell, and Andrew Foreman, papal prothonotary and prior of May, ambassadors of the king of Scots, to come into England, with one hundred persons in their company³⁶. It was not till the eighth of October after, that king James gave these ambassadors full powers to negotiate a marriage between him and the princess Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry king of England³⁷. At the same time he gave the ambassadors a commission to negotiate and conclude a treaty of perpetual peace, amity, and confederation, between him and the king of England³⁸. Another safe-conduct was granted by Henry to these ambassadors October 28th³⁹.

A. D. 1502.
Treaty of
marriage.

The ambassadors of Scotland having arrived in the court of England in the beginning of this year, or towards the end of the last, Henry gave full powers to Henry archbishop of Canterbury, keeper of the great seal; Richard Fox, now bishop of Winchester; and Thomas earl of Surry, treasurer of England; to treat with them about a marriage between his eldest daughter the princess Margaret and James king of Scots. The plenipotentiaries of the two kings concluded the treaty of marriage January 24th, on the following terms: First, That James king of Scots should in person, or by proxy, marry the princess Margaret before the feast of Candlemas next: 2. That the king of Scots should

³⁶ Rym. p. 772.

³⁸ Ibid. p. 777.

³⁷ Ibid. p. 776.

³⁹ Ibid. 780.

A.D. 1502.

not desire the princefs to be delivered to him, in order to the solemnization and consummation of the marriage, before September 1st, A.D. 1503: 3. That the king of England should at his own expence conduct the princefs to Lamberton Kirk, or some other place on the borders, and there deliver her to the king of Scots on or before the said 1st of September; and that the king of Scots should solemnize his marriage within fifteen days after: 4. That the queen's jointure should be 2,000*l.* English, equivalent to 6,000*l.* Scots: 5. That the princefs's fortune should be 30,000 nobles of gold, equivalent to 10,000*l.* sterling: 6. That the queen during the marriage should have 1,000*l.* Scots, equivalent to 500 marks English, paid to her annually, to be disposed of as she thought proper: 7. That twenty of the queen's attendants should be English, to be supported and paid by the king her husband⁴⁰. From hence it will appear, that though Henry was fond of this marriage, he was no less fond of his money, and made a very advantageous contract.

Treaty of
peace.

These plenipotentiaries concluded and signed at the same time a treaty of perpetual peace, amity, and concord, between the king of England and the king of Scotland, and their successors and subjects⁴¹. This was a great atchievement. Many attempts had been made to bring about a peace between the two British nations, but without success; and these two nations had been in a state of hostility for almost two centuries, interrupted only

⁴⁰ Rym., p. 787.⁴¹ Ibid. p. 793.

by short truces ill observed. To render this peace more secure and firm, another treaty was made at the same time, containing various regulations for settling all disputes that might arise in an amicable manner, without occasioning any breach of the peace ⁴². But how vain were all these precautions! We shall soon see how long this perpetual peace lasted, and how well these treaties were observed. The continuance of peace between neighbouring nations depends much more on their characters, their circumstances, and future occurrences, than on the faith of treaties.

A.D. 1502.

Some appearances of misunderstanding between the two kings took place, even before the solemnization of the intended marriage. Lewis XII. of France being then at peace with England, and warmly engaged in the wars of Italy, had given no interruption to the negotiation of the above treaties; but when he heard that they were concluded, he took the alarm, and began to fear so intimate an union between the two British monarchs would weaken the long established attachment of Scotland to France: he therefore earnestly solicited king James to renew the ancient league between France and Scotland. With this requisition James was inclined to comply, when he received a dissuasive letter from his father-in-law; to which he returned an answer, couched in very respectful and affectionate terms. He addressed him as his dearest father, and told him, that though it was an article of the ancient league with

Misunderstandings.

⁴² Rym. p. 800.

A. D. 1502.

France to renew it at the accession of every king of either nation, and that this had been constantly done; yet at his desire he would delay it till he had an interview with him, or till he had considered further of it, and had communicated to him his final resolution, though he saw no good reason for this delay; nor could perceive how the renewing of the league could be hurtful to his dearest father, or to himself⁴³. But James gave a still clearer proof of his independent spirit, and of his steady attachment to his ancient allies, when he came to swear to the observation of the above treaties before the English ambassadors in the cathedral of Glasgow December 10th, A. D. 1502, by refusing obstinately to give his father-in-law the title of king of France; and in that oath he is only styled king of England and lord of Ireland⁴⁴. A more passionate and less prudent prince would have taken this as an unpardonable affront; but Henry, though he could not be pleased with it, suffered it to pass unnoticed.

A. D. 1503.
Deeds.

Henry sent the bishops of Hereford to Worcester to Rome in April this year, to lay all the above treaties before the pope, to obtain his confirmation of them, that the observation of them might be enforced by his authority, and by the dread of ecclesiastical censures, of which the greatest princes in those times stood in awe⁴⁵. James, by a deed executed at Edinburgh May 24th, assigned the following lands for his queen's jointure:—The lordship and forest of Etreke, the earldoms of

⁴³ Rym. tom. xiii. p. 12.⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 43.⁴⁵ Ibid. p. 55.
March

March and Monteith, the palace and lordship of Linlithgow, the castle and lordship of Stirling, the castle and lordship of Down, the palace and lordship of Methvin; and issued a mandate to the sheriffs of the several counties in which these lands lay, to grant the seifins of them⁴⁶. James duke of Rofs and archbishop of St. Andrews, the king's brother, is the first subscribing witness to the first of these deeds.

A. D. 1503.

All the preliminaries of this marriage being now settled, and the time when the princess was to be conducted into Scotland drawing near, great preparations were made for that journey and the celebration of the marriage—a marriage from which Great Britain hath derived greater and more permanent advantages, than from any other that hath ever been celebrated in this island. The princess had been solemnly married to king James, represented by his proxy Patrick earl of Bothwell, at Richmond January 27th, A. D. 1503, in presence of her royal parents, the whole court of England, and the Scots ambassadors; but she did not set out on her journey to Scotland till the 27th June thereafter. She was attended by her father king Henry (the queen her mother having died February 11th before) with his whole court to Collywiston, the residence of her grandmother Margaret countess of Richmond, where she remained till July 8th, when she took leave of the king her father, and proceeded on her journey, accompanied by the earl and countess of Surry, with a numerous and splen-

⁴⁶ Rym. tom. xiii. p. 62.

did

A. D. 1503. did train of lords and ladies. The young queen travelled for the most part on horseback. At her entrance into towns and cities she was seated in a horse-litter, open on all sides, that she might be more conveniently seen. She was received and entertained with speeches and pageants by the magistrates, and by the clergy with processions, masses, and music. At the entrance of every county she was met by the high-sheriff, with the principal lords, gentlemen, and ladies, of the county, in their richest dresses, who conducted her to the next. Proceeding by short journies, and halting some days at York, Durham, Newcastle, and Berwick, she arrived at Lamberton Kirk August 1st, where she was received by the archbishop of Glasgow and a great retinue of Scots lords and ladies, and conducted that night to Fastcastle, the next to Haddington, and the next to Dalkeith, where she was received by the king. They made their public entry into Edinburgh August 7th, and the next day the royal marriage was solemnized with great pomp. After six days spent in banqueting, dancing, tilting, &c. the English lords, ladies, and gentlemen took their leave of the king and queen, and set out on their return home, well pleased with the entertainment they had received ⁴⁷.

A. D. 1504.
Parliament.

The diversions that followed the royal marriage being ended, and the strangers who attended it departed, the king applied himself to the affairs of government. A parliament met at Edinburgh March 11th, and on the 13th made an act rectify-

⁴⁷ See Leland's Collectanea, vol. iv. p. 258—300.

A. D. 1504.

ing and confirming the settlement of the queen's jointure; a copy of which, with the seals of a considerable number of each of the three estates appended, was delivered to the English ambassadors⁴⁸. In this parliament many excellent laws were made on a great variety of subjects, which afford sufficient evidence that the true interests of their country were well understood, and steadily pursued by this assembly. Several regulations were made for the more regular and speedy administration of justice in the Low Country, and for establishing magistrates and courts in the Highlands and Islands; for the want of which, it is said, the people had become almost wild and lawless. James appears to have had the civilization of his subjects very much at heart; and in order to promote it, was willing to relinquish a part of his prerogative for a time. At his desire an act was made against granting remissions to any who had been guilty of murder from forethought malice. This act was intended to give a check to the deadly feuds between great families; in prosecution of which many murders were committed with impunity, and it was to continue in force till it was revoked by the king⁴⁹. With the same view, another very equitable law was made. It had been customary when persons of rank and power had committed murder, or some other capital crime, to obtain a remission from the king for some trivial offence particularly mentioned, with a general clause, and

⁴⁸ Rym. tpm. xiii. p. 92-95.⁴⁹ Black Acts, f. 103.

all

A. D. 1504.

all other crimes. But by this law it was declared, that the general clause should not convey a pardon for any offence that was greater than the one particularly mentioned in the remission⁵⁰. In a word, it will be difficult to produce a system of laws more just and equitable, and better adapted to the state of the country for which they were designed, than those that were enacted by this parliament.

A. D. 1505.
Long
peace.

The immediate as well as the remote consequences of the king's marriage were very happy. It brought peace to two nations that had long been engaged in the most destructive wars, and even extinguished, for a time, their ancient animosity, which, by its long continuance, had become inveterate, and almost invincible. It introduced the most friendly intercourse between the two courts, and gave the two monarchs leisure to promote the prosperity of their dominions. This leisure was employed by James to the best purposes, in visiting the several provinces of his kingdom, redressing wrongs, extinguishing family feuds, establishing peace, order, and the impartial administration of justice in all places; encouraging learning, agriculture, and other useful arts, which greatly endeared him to his subjects of all ranks, who enjoyed a degree of prosperity and peace to which they had long been strangers. Henry took care of the punctual payment of his daughter's dowry, which, with his other revenues, enabled James to repair and furnish his palaces, and to keep a splendid

⁵⁰ Black Acts, f. 103.

court: for in this respect he was of a very different spirit from his father-in-law, and had no taste for hoarding money.

A. D. 1505.

King James's application to the improvement and government of his kingdom did not prevent his attention to foreign affairs and the concerns of his allies. On the contrary, he did some of them essential services by his interposition, and kept up a constant correspondence, by ambassadors and letters, with the courts of Rome, England, Germany, France, Spain, and Denmark⁵¹. His father-in-law having complained to him, that his great enemy Edmund de la Pole earl of Suffolk was entertained and protected by his cousin Charles duke of Gueldres, James wrote a very long and very sharp letter to the duke; in which, after the strongest expressions of friendship, he blames him greatly for entertaining the earl; answers all the excuses he had made by his ambassadors; accuses him of having broken his promise; and in the end assures him, that if he did not immediately banish the earl out of his dominions, he could expect no further assistance from him, either of men or money⁵². This letter produced the desired effect, and James was perfectly reconciled to the duke, whose cause he espoused with a degree of warmth and efficacy that did him great honour.

A. D. 1506,
Foreign
affairs.

Charles duke of Gueldres and Juliers, and earl of Zutphen, was at this time in great distress and danger. Arnold VI. duke of Gueldres, father to Mary queen to James II. and grandmother of

Affairs of
Gueldres.⁵¹ See *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, tom. i.⁵² *Ibid.* p. 11.

A. D. 1506.

James IV. was imprisoned by his own son Adolph. But Charles the Bold duke of Burgundy delivered him from his prison, and restored him to his authority; out of gratitude for which, he bequeathed his dominions to his deliverer. On his death, however, Adolph got and preserved the possession of them, and was succeeded by his son Charles, who had hitherto defended himself with great bravery and success. But a formidable confederacy was now formed against him by the emperor Maximilian, his son Philip duke of Burgundy and king of Castile, and the king of England. In this extremity he sent an ambassador to king James, to implore his good offices with the confederates to divert the impending storm and procure a peace; and if that could not be obtained, to know what assistance he might expect from him in the war. To this James returned a long and distinct answer, assuring him that he would exert all his influence with the princes confederated against him, to prevail upon them to make peace with him on reasonable terms. If war became unavoidable, he acquainted him that the distance of the scene of action would make it difficult to give him all the assistance he wished; that all these princes were his friends and allies, with whom he was very unwilling to engage in war; but that he might rely upon it, that he would do as much as he could expect from a sincere friend and affectionate relation⁵³.

To fulfil his promise to the duke, James wrote a long and elegant letter to his father-in-law; in

⁵³ *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, tom. i. p. 30—34.

which he employed many strong arguments, some of them expressed in the most pathetic and affecting language, to dissuade him from making war on the duke of Gueldres, to whose dominions his children and Henry's grandchildren were the undoubted heirs, after the duke and the queen of Sicily. After painting in strong colours the pain it would give him to be compelled to look upon his dearest father as his greatest enemy, and the sorrow it would give his beloved wife to see her father and her husband at war with one another, he tells him in the most positive terms, that if he persisted in his design to send troops to assist the emperor against the duke of Gueldres, he was determined to transport himself with an army to the continent, to place himself by the side of his brave relation, and to stand or fall with him. This letter he sent with his ambassadors Robert Foreman, dean of Glasgow, and the lord Lion king at arms; who, having finished the business at the court of England successfully, proceeded to the continent, charged with letters to the emperor Maximilian, to Charles king of Castile and duke of Burgundy, (who had lately succeeded his father Philip,) and to the Chancellor and senate of Burgundy. In these letters he used such arguments as he imagined would be most effectual to dissuade those to whom they were addressed from invading the dominions of the duke of Gueldres⁵⁴. Nor did he thus warmly espouse the cause of his friend in vain. The storm was dissipated, and the duke was not invaded.

⁵⁴ *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, tom. i. p. 49—49.

A.D. 1506.

Denmark.

But James made his greatest exertions this year in favour of his uncle John king of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, from whom the Swedes had revolted, and were supported in their revolt by the city of Lubeck, then very powerful at sea. King James sent the dean of Glasgow and lord Lion his ambassadors, first to Lubeck, with letters to the magistrates and senate, exhorting them with much earnestness and many arguments to make peace with the king his uncle, and offering his mediation, which was accepted and a peace concluded. The ambassadors then proceeded to Sweden with letters to the archbishop of Upsal the primate, the bishop of Roskeld the chancellor, and the nobility⁵⁵. These letters paint the horrors of a civil war in very lively colours, and are written with extraordinary elegance and energy. Among other things he assured them that he would procure for them a full redress of all their grievances, and that no ties of blood should ever engage him to support a tyrant in violating the rights of his subjects; but that if they persisted in their rebellion, he was determined to assist their king his uncle with all his power. To give weight to these arguments, James fitted out a fleet, and embarked an army of ten thousand men, and sent them to Denmark, under the command of his cousin the earl of Arran. But before the arrival of this fleet and army, a peace was concluded, and they returned home⁵⁶. The queen of Denmark having sent king James a letter

⁵⁵ *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, tom. i. p. 34—38.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* p. 69.

of thanks for this seasonable and powerful aid, he returned a very polite answer, dated at Edinburgh 25th August, A. D. 1506, in which he expressed some dissatisfaction at the sudden unexpected return of his fleet and army, which, he says, he would not have excused, if they had not brought him the agreeable news that peace was restored, and that her majesty (who had been besieged) was in perfect safety". These two examples afford sufficient evidence that James espoused the cause of his friends with zeal and spirit, and that his interposition was respected by the other powers of Europe.

King James and his ancestors did not take the title of kings of Scotland, but of kings of the Scots, and seem to have considered themselves as sovereigns of that people wherever they resided, and particularly of the colonies of Scots in Ireland. These colonists also acknowledged themselves to be their subjects. It appears further, that some of the ancient Irish princes or chieftains voluntarily became the subjects of, and swore fealty to, the Scots kings. A proof of both these occurred at this time. Odo Odoneil, an Irish chieftain, sent an ambassador to James, notifying his father's death, and his own accession to the government of his people and estates. He acquainted him further, that he designed to go to war next spring, and desired the king to send him four thousand men under the conduct of John Mackean, and to command his subjects in Claudompniel not to assist

A. D. 1507.
Subjects in
Ireland.

A. D. 1507. his enemies, and that he would not go out of his kingdom to meet with his father-in-law. In answer to these letters, James condoled with him on the death of his father, who, he said, had sworn fealty to him in person, and had always been his loyal subject. He then congratulated him on his accession to the power and fortunes of his ancestors, and assured him, that when he came to swear fealty, he would treat him with the same respect and kindness that he had treated his father. He desired to know against whom, and for what cause, he was going to war; and if the cause appeared to be good, he would send him the succours he requested. He told him, that he would command his subjects of Claudompnien not to fight against him, because he was also his subject. But as to the proposed interview with his dearest father, that was so pious an act, that nothing should dissuade him from it, when it became convenient for them to have an interview⁵⁴. But though it is evident that many of the people of Ireland acknowledged themselves to be the subjects of the kings of the Scots, I have not discovered what degree of authority these kings exercised over them, or what revenues they received from them.

Great ship.

King James paid great attention to trade, and prepared a fleet for its protection, not inconsiderable for those times and the state of his kingdom. In particular, he built one ship larger than any that had yet been seen in Europe. It was not long before he had occasion to employ that and some

⁵⁴ *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, tom. i. p. 63.

other

other ships in defence of his commercial subjects. The Hollanders, for what reason we are not informed, had taken several Scots ships, and had thrown their crews into the sea. James, irritated at this cruelty, fitted out his great ship, with some others, under the command of Andrew Barton, who seized all the Dutch ships he could meet with, sent home some hogheads of Dutchmen's heads as a present to the king, and returned to Leith with several valuable prizes⁵⁹. A cruel revenge for a cruel injury.

Policy of
France and
Scotland.

King James, though at peace with England, and so nearly connected with that royal family, did not neglect his ancient allies, but kept up a constant correspondence with the court of France by his ambassadors, and by receiving ambassadors from that court. Nor was Lewis XII. less anxious to cultivate the friendship of the king of Scots, and to cherish the ancient amity between the two nations. The chief instrument he employed for this purpose was Bernard Stewart, lord D'Aubigny, who was related to, and beloved by James, and in high favour with Lewis. This nobleman made several journies into Scotland on various pretences, but in reality to confirm and strengthen the union between the two courts and the two nations. Andrew Foreman, bishop of Moray and archbishop of Bourges in France, who was James's great favourite, was warmly engaged in the same design. Both France and Scotland were at this time at peace with England, but they were not certain

⁵⁹ Lessius, lib. viii. p. 343.

A. D. 1507.

that this peace with both of them would be of long duration; and each of them desired to secure an useful ally, in case of a war with a power that had long been considered as their common enemy⁶⁰. It is in the time of peace that useful alliances should be formed and strengthened.

Succours
to France.

In the course of the friendly correspondence this year, Lewis requested of James an aid of four thousand men, to be employed in the wars of Italy, at Savona, Genoa, or Milan. James readily agreed to this requisition, and sent his answer by his cousin James earl of Arran, and desired to know at what port the troops should assemble, and when the fleet would arrive to receive them. But Genoa having surrendered in the mean time, the king of France acquainted his ally of that event, and that the succours were not now necessary, but intreated him to have them in readiness, if they should become necessary⁶¹. To which James returned this very friendly answer: "That he and all his subjects would fly to his assistance if it became necessary."

Pilgrim-
age.

Though James IV. was a prince of great activity and spirit, applied to business when his affairs required it, and spent his leisure hours in riding, hunting, tilting, and other amusements, he was often disquieted by remorse for the part he had acted against his unhappy father. To expiate that crime, he added a link every year to the iron chain he wore about his body: he went in pilgrimage to

⁶⁰ *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, tom. i. p. 70—89.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* p. 84. 87.

the shrines of all the saints of any reputation in his own kingdom, and meditated a visit to the Holy Land. On the 30th of August this year he set out from Stirling alone early in the morning, and rode by Perth and Aberdeen to Elgin, being an hundred and thirty miles, that day. After reposing a few hours upon a table, he mounted again, and rode forty miles to St. Dulhacks in Ross, on the 31st, the festival of that saint, and arrived in time to attend mass and receive the sacrament⁶². His penitence, it is hoped, was more acceptable to Heaven than his pilgrimages, though he probably thought them very meritorious, because they were very fatiguing.

A. D. 1507.

That turbulent ambitious pontiff Julius II. paid great court to both the British monarchs at this time, with very selfish and sinister views. He sent a legate to the court of Scotland, with a present to the king of a cap of maintenance, and a sword, that had been properly blessed by his holiness, to be employed against the enemies of the church⁶³. The real design of sending this embassy and present was to weaken, if possible, the attachment of king James to his ally the king of France, who was the great object of the dread and hatred of his holiness, on account of his power, and the success of his arms in Italy. But that the legate could not accomplish. The present, however, was received with great ceremony by the king and his nobility in the church of Holyrood-house.

A. D. 1508.
Legate
from
Rome.

⁶² Lessius, lib. viii. p. 345.

⁶³ Ibid.

A mis-

A. D. 1508.

Disputes
with Por-
tugal.

A misunderstanding and coolness had subsisted several years between the courts of Scotland and Portugal, occasioned by the mutual depredations of the subjects at sea. A fleet of the Portuguese had captured a ship belonging to James III. commanded by John Bertoun; of which that prince complained to the king of Portugal, and obtaining no redress, granted letters of marque to Bertoun a little before his death. James IV. at the earnest request of Robert and John Bertouns, the sons of John Bertoun, granted them letters of marque or reprisal. Of these, the two Bertouns, assisted by their brother Andrew, made a very good use. They fitted out two stout ships, with which they cruised on the coasts of Portugal, and took several valuable prizes⁶⁴. This trade was so lucrative, and appeared to them so honourable, that they carried it too far, and continued it too long; and in the end (as we shall afterwards hear) brought ruin upon themselves, and contributed to bring many calamities upon their country.

A. D. 1509.
Death of
Henry VII.

The treaty of perpetual peace between the two British kingdoms, that had been concluded on the marriage of king James with the princess royal of England, had hitherto been faithfully observed by both powers, and the borders of the two kingdoms, formerly the scene of almost incessant hostility, were reduced to a state of as great quiet and order as any other part of the island. Nor have we any reason to imagine that any breach of this

⁶⁴ *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, p. 91,

treaty would have taken place, while the father and son-in-law continued to reign, though their joint lives had been much longer. But that prudent pacific prince Henry VII. died April 22d this year, which rendered the continuance of peace more precarious.

A. D. 1509.

Henry VIII. at his accession, seems to have been disposed to follow the example of his father, and to preserve peace with Scotland: for he delivered to the Scots ambassadors, Andrew Foreman, bishop of Moray, and James earl of Arran, (who had been sent to congratulate him on his accession,) a confirmation of the treaty of perpetual peace, under the great seal, dated at Westminster July 29th, and on August 29th he swore to the observation of all the articles of that treaty. On the same day the bishop of Moray swore a similar oath in the name of his master; and king James swore to the observation of the treaty of perpetual peace at Edinburgh November 28th, before the English commissioners appointed to take his oath, and a great number of his own nobility⁶⁵. Henry also renewed and confirmed the treaty of peace with France with the same solemnities, and every thing, for some time, seemed to promise a long continuance of tranquillity. But Henry, being young and ambitious, had not the same determined aversion to war, and desire of peace, with his prudent and cautious father, nor had James the same respect for his person, nor confidence in his friendship, that he had entertained towards his father-in-law.

Treaty of peace confirmed.

⁶⁵ Rym. tom. xiii. p. 257. 261. 267.

A. D. 1510.

Disorders
on the
marches.

In spite of all the care that had been taken by the wardens of the marches to preserve peace and good order on the borders, some acts of violence had been committed in those parts in the beginning of this year, of which complaints were made to both kings. Henry granted a commission June 1st, to sir Robert Drury and sir Marmaduck Constable, to meet the commissioners of the king of Scots, and in conjunction with them to punish offenders and redress grievances⁶⁶. James being nearer the scene of these disorders, acted with greater effect. Having received intelligence that a gang of banditti infested the middle marches, he set out at the head of a body of armed men, and marching all night, came upon the plunderers unexpectedly, seized many of them, and conducted them to Jedburgh, where they were tried, the most guilty executed, and others fined or imprisoned⁶⁷. Thus far, therefore, there was no appearance of any misunderstanding between the two courts.

A. D. 1511.
Sea-fight.

But this good understanding was not of long duration. Andrew Bertoun, one of the three brothers who had received letters of marque against the Portuguese, returning with two ships from a cruise on the coasts of Portugal, was attacked in the Downs by sir Edward Howard, lord admiral of England, and his elder brother lord Thomas Howard, who had been sent with a superior force to intercept him. Though Bertoun and his men were surprised at this unexpected attack, they defended themselves with great bravery; but being

⁶⁶ Rym. tom. xiii. p. 276.

⁶⁷ Lesly, p. 354.

overpowered by numbers, both their ships were taken and brought to London. Bertoun died of the wounds he had received in the engagement; and those of his men who survived, after being confined a few days, were set at liberty, and commanded to depart the kingdom in three weeks⁶⁸.

A. D. 1511.

Nothing could equal the surprise and indignation of king James, when he received intelligence of this event. To seize his ships, and to slaughter and imprison his subjects acting under his commission, without having made any complaint, or produced any evidence that they had exceeded their commission, appeared to him an intolerable insult and injury, a direct and wanton violation of the treaty of perpetual peace. But when the first transports of his passion subsided, he determined to observe the stipulations of that treaty, by demanding redress, before he proceeded to retaliation. He immediately sent an embassy to the court of England, to complain of the violation of the treaty of peace, and to demand redress. The pride which superior power and wealth are apt to produce seems to have influenced the English monarch and his ministry on this occasion. They returned a short and very provoking answer: "That the punishment of pirates could not be a violation of any treaty, nor require any redress⁶⁹." The English merchants had, indeed, complained to their own government, that Bertoun had searched and plundered some of their ships of what he pretended was Portuguese property: but

Embassy to England.

⁶⁸ Lefly, p. 359.⁶⁹ Abercromby, p. 523.

A. D. 1511.

no complaint of this had been made to the government of Scotland, as the treaty of peace required; and therefore the seizure of Bertoun's ships was an evident violation of that treaty⁷⁰.

Embassy to
Scotland.

The English ministry soon became sensible that they had acted unwarrantably, contrary to the plainest stipulations in the late treaty, and discovered a disposition to appease the resentment of king James, and prevent a rupture. With this view doctor Nicholas West, dean of Windfor, was sent ambassador to the court of Scotland in the beginning of November, with very ample powers to redress all injuries, grievances, and attempts against the treaty of perpetual peace⁷¹. What redress doctor West proposed we are not informed: we only know that it was not accepted, and that his negotiation was unsuccessful. This appears plainly from a letter written by king James to the pope, dated at Edinburgh December 5th, A. D. 1511, in which he complains of some violations of the treaty of peace by the late king of England his father-in-law, but more bitterly of the far greater violations of it by the present king his brother. "The present king of England, (says he,) who hath sworn to the treaty of perpetual peace, pursues our subjects by sea and land, kills, captivates, and imprisons them; we demand, but do not obtain redress. In his conduct every thing is hostile, nothing peaceful. We find that the losses and sufferings of our subjects daily increase. We have communicated these things to your

⁷⁰ Rym. tom. xii. p. 793.

⁷¹ Rym. tom. xiii. p. 309.

"holiness,

“holiness, that if war ensue, you may know that we have not sought it, but have been forced into it in our own defence”⁷². In a word, it is abundantly evident that king James had by this time received great provocation, and was very much incensed against his brother-in-law, and that all the amity which had lately prevailed between the two courts and the two nations was at an end.

A. D. 1511.

It is possible, however, that the affair of Bertoun and the disputes on the borders might have been compromised without producing a war, if a more serious cause of quarrel had not intervened. Henry VIII. then young and ambitious, had been betrayed by the pope, and his father-in-law Ferdinand of Arragon, into a league against Lewis XII. November 10th, A. D. 1511, only a few months after he had sworn to a treaty of peace with that prince, and without having received the slightest provocation⁷³. This holy league, as it was called, was kept a profound secret for some time, but began to be suspected about the beginning of this year, and was soon after publicly known and avowed. The pope and Ferdinand attempted to draw James into this pretended holy league, and doctor Leonard Lopez, the Spanish ambassador at his court, used every argument to that purpose that could be imagined, but in vain. This appears from a letter he sent to Ferdinand by his ambassador, in which he most earnestly intreated

A. D. 1512.
Confederacy
against
France.⁷² Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, p. 123.⁷³ See Section II, A. D. 1511.

him

A. D. 1512.

him not to engage in a war against a christian prince, but to reserve his forces, to be employed, in conjunction with those of other christian princes, against the infidels in Africa. To remove all obstruction to that pious expedition, he pressed him very warmly to mediate a peace between the pope, the common father of christians, and the most christian king⁷⁴. He appointed his cousin John duke of Albany, then in France, his ambassador to the emperor Maximilian, and sent his most confidential minister, Andrew Foreman, bishop of Moray, to Rome, with instructions to both to mediate a peace between the pope and the king of France⁷⁵. This is a sufficient proof that James was at this time sincerely disposed to peace, and made every effort in his power to prevent a war.

Treaty
with
France.

As soon as Lewis XII. discovered the confederacy that was formed against him, he dispatched an ambassador to the court of Scotland to secure the assistance of his ancient allies. Monsieur la Motte, the French ambassador, found king James so much heated with resentment against the king and people of England for the injuries they had lately done him, that he easily prevailed upon him to renew and confirm all the former treaties of alliance between the two crowns, with a very remarkable addition. In all former treaties the contracting parties had engaged to assist one another against the English, and against such as should attempt to change the regular order of succession to their respective crowns. But in this new treaty the two

⁷⁴ Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, p. 131.

⁷⁵ Ibid. p. 130—146.

kings

A. D. 1512.

kings engaged to assist one another against all who may live and die. This treaty was ratified by king James at Edinburgh, 16th March, A. D. 1512⁷⁶.

Embassy to
Scotland.

The English ministry, being now determined on a war with France, became sensible of the error they had committed in irritating the king and people of Scotland, and resolved, if possible; to procure a reconciliation. Henry therefore sent Thomas lord Dacres and doctor West to the court of Scotland in April with two commissions: by the one they were authorised to require James to swear again to the treaty of perpetual peace, and to engage that their master would do the same; by the other, to redress all grievances and violations of the peace⁷⁷. The redress proposed was not accepted, and James declined to renew his oath. He declared, however, it is said, to the ambassadors, by word of mouth, that he would observe a strict neutrality; but when he was requested to give that declaration in writing he refused⁷⁸. James, it is probable, gave the ambassadors good words, and expressed a great regard for his brother-in-law, which they construed into a promise of neutrality. His situation was very critical. Being a superstitious prince, he was averse to engage in a war against the pope, whose thunders he dreaded; and at the same time he was warmly attached to the king of France. Besides, the engagements into which he had entered with France and Eng-

⁷⁶ Abercromby, p. 526.⁷⁷ Rym. p. 332, 333.⁷⁸ Herbert, p. 12.

A. D. 1512.

land were of such a nature, that it was hardly possible to perform them both: he might therefore have been undetermined at this time what part he would act in the approaching war, which might induce him to give the English ambassadors fair words, without entangling himself in any new engagements.

Embassy to
Denmark.

When things were in this state king James sent an ambassador to his uncle John king of Denmark with the following instructions, dated at Linlithgow, May 28th, A. D. 1512: To acquaint him, that the king of England had declared war against their common friend and ally the king of France, and to inquire what assistance he was willing to give to the most christian king, and on what conditions: To inform him further, that the English had committed, and still continued to commit, many hostilities against his subjects, for which he could obtain no adequate satisfaction; and to inquire what money he would lend him, and on what terms, and what ships and troops he would send to his assistance, if he engaged in a war with England. The ambassador was instructed to return as soon as possible with an answer to these questions⁷⁹. He received a favourable answer, and the king of Denmark sent some ships, loaded with arms and ammunition, into Scotland in the end of this, or beginning of the next year⁸⁰.

Hostilities.

Robert Bertoun, the brother of the late Andrew Bertoun, had long solicited for letters of marque to avenge his brother's death and the capture of

⁷⁹ *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, 143.

⁸⁰ Abercromby p. 527.

his

his ships; and as soon as James received intelligence that the English fleet, with an army on board, had actually failed to invade France, he granted them. Bertoun sailed in the end of May, and returned to Leith in July with fifteen prizes⁸¹.

A.D. 1512.

About the same time James endeavoured to create a diversion to the English arms, by exciting an insurrection in Ireland. The great Odoniel, as he is called, visited the court of Scotland, and swore fealty to the king, who entertained him honourably, and sent him home to raise his followers, and make war upon the English in that country⁸².

Though James prepared for war, he did not intermit his endeavours to prevent it, and to bring about a peace between the pope and the king of France. With this view he sent an ambassador to Rome in the beginning of this year; and the pope, in answer to his earnest solicitations, transmitted to him letters, expressive of the highest esteem and warmest affection, thanking him for his unwearied labours to promote peace, which was obstructed only by his undutiful son the king of France, who would not submit to him, who was the common father of all kings. He sent him at the same time a copy of the letters he had received from the Ragusians, concerning the great preparations the Turks were making for invading Italy; and also the copy of a letter he had written to the king of France on that subject. This last exhibits a most curious specimen of canting and hypocrisy. Though he hated Lewis mortally, he addressed

Letters
from
Rome.

⁸¹ Abercromby, p. 526.

⁸² Ibid. p. 527.

A.D. 1512.

him as his most dear son, acquainted him with the great preparations the abominable Turks were making for invading Christendom. "But, my dearest son, (said he,) if these odious Turks should come what can they do more cruel, more detestable, or more horrible, than your soldiers did, after the battle of Ravenna?" He put him in mind of the glory his ancestors had acquired, by enriching and protecting the church, and conjures him not to tarnish all that glory by opposing him, and obstructing the union of all christian princes against the enemies of the christian faith, which he alone had hitherto obstructed. He tells him, that he and many other princes had lately entered into a most holy league for recovering Bologna, Ferrara, and all the other possessions of the church from him, and then undertaking an expedition against the Turks; and obtests him by the bowels of Jesus Christ to enter into that most holy league and expedition⁸. Lewis perfectly well knew that the pretended holy league was made only against himself, and that the expedition against the Turks was a mere pretence.

James
knight to
the queen
of France.

Lewis XII. was at great pains to conciliate the friendship and secure the assistance of the king of Scots, when all his other allies, except the duke of Gueldres, had abandoned him; and almost all the other princes of Europe had combined against him. One of the arts employed for that purpose would appear ridiculous in the present age; but in that age, and with such a prince, was well calculated to produce the desired

⁸; Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, p. 156—165.

effect.

effect. Anne of Brittany, queen of France, knowing him to be a gallant prince, an admirer of the ladies and of chivalry, chose him for her knight and champion, to protect her in her distress from all her enemies; and sent him a ship, loaded with arms, as a token of her confidence that he would use them in her defence⁸⁴. He was proud of this honour, and determined to act the part of a valiant and loyal knight.

A. D. 1512.

Commission of array.

As Henry had sent an army under the marquis of Dorset to invade Guienne, he thought it prudent to provide against an invasion from Scotland, by giving a commission to Thomas earl of Surry, August 6th, to array all the defensible men in Yorkshire, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, to arm and train them, that they might be in readiness to repel the Scots whenever it should be necessary⁸⁵. The earl of Surry, who was lord high treasurer and earl marshal of England, executed this commission with great activity and spirit, the necessity and advantage of which soon after appeared.

This array in the north of England, and some intelligence he had received, made James imagine that an invasion of Scotland was intended, to put it out of the power of that kingdom to assist France. This we learn from the letters he sent to his uncle John king of Denmark towards the end of this year. He acquaints that prince, that it had been declared in the parliament of England, (that met November 4th,) "That it would be imprudent

Letters to Denmark.

⁸⁴ Lefly, p. 358. Drummond, p. 140—145. ⁸⁵ Rym. p. 339.

A.D. 1512.

“ to invade France till they had first disabled
 “ Scotland: That the king of England was so
 “ much elated by the great subsidy he had got
 “ from his parliament, that he boasted he would
 “ invade both France and Scotland at the same
 “ time. I am informed (says he) by my friends
 “ and favourers, that the great preparations the
 “ English are making by sea and land are designed
 “ against us. Being afraid to attack the French,
 “ who are prepared for war, they design suddenly
 “ to assault the Scots, who are meditating nothing
 “ but peace and concord. For resisting such a
 “ formidable assault we are but ill prepared, and
 “ therefore we beseech your majesty, our most
 “ dear uncle, to provide as strong a fleet and army
 “ as possible, and send them to the assistance of
 “ your nephew.” James was indeed misin-
 formed by his friends in England; but that he
 entertained these apprehensions at this time (De-
 cember 12th, A. D. 1512) there can be no doubt.
 It appears also from the whole of this, and from
 his other letters, that he earnestly desired and
 endeavoured to prevent a war between France and
 England; but since that could not be prevented,
 he thought it most prudent and most generous to
 adhere to the ancient allies of his crown, from
 whom he might expect assistance against the am-
 bitious attempts of his two powerful neighbours.
 “ It would be very imprudent, (says he in the
 “ same letter,) and unsafe for us, to suffer the Eng-
 “ lish to subdue France; for then there can be

³⁶ Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, p. 169.

“no doubt that they would make themselves
 “masters of Scotland.”

A. D. 1512.

In the beginning of this year every thing wore a hostile appearance between the two British nations; but the intercourse between the two courts was not quite broken off. James proposed to send an embassy, consisting of John lord Drummond, sir Robert Lawder, sir John Ramsay, sir William Scot, and Mr. John Henryson; and on January 25th Henry granted them a safe-conduct to come into England, with one hundred persons in their company. But this embassy, for some reason now unknown, was never sent. Henry also gave a commission February 1st to William lord Conyers and sir Robert Drury, to meet with commissioners of the king of Scots, to settle all disputes about the treaty of perpetual peace, and to make new regulations for the better observation of that treaty. He gave another commission February 15th to Thomas lord Dacres and doctor Nicholas West, to agree with commissioners of Scotland on an abolition of all the past trespasses against the perpetual peace²⁷. Doctor West came to the court of Scotland March 16th, and prevailed upon James to agree to a meeting of the commissioners of both kings, to be held on the borders in the beginning of June. These commissioners accordingly met at the time and place appointed; but after long debates they could come to no agreement²⁸. This was owing to the English Commissioners, who insisted upon a delay to the 15th of October;

A. D. 1513.
 Negotiations.

²⁷ Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, p. 171.

²⁸ Rym. p. 346.

²⁹ Lelly, p. 358.

A. D. 1513.

by which time they hoped the event of the expedition into France would be known. James was greatly irritated at this attempt to deceive him, and from that time relinquished all hopes and thoughts of peace.

Supplies.

Monfieur la Motte, the French ambaffador, who had lately made feveral voyages between France and Scotland, arrived in the Clyde May 24th with four fhips loaded with wine, flour, &c. About the fame time fome fhips from Denmark arrived at Leith with arms and ammunition⁹⁰. James being thus better prepared for war, became more indifferent about peace.

A fleet
and army
fent to
France.

There was one way in which James had it in his power to affift his ally the king of France, without fo much as the appearance of violating the treaty of perpetual peace with England. By an article in that treaty it was agreed, “ That if the king of
“ England, or his fucceffors, made war upon any
“ of the allies of the king of Scots, or his fucceffors, the king of Scots fhould abftain from invading the dominion of the king of England,
“ but fhould be at liberty to affift his ally in any
“ other way, and that fuch affiftance fhould not
“ be confidered as a violation of the treaty⁹¹.” There was a fimilar article in favour of the king of England. King James availed himfelf of the liberty allowed by this article. He had a confiderable fleet in readinefs, in which there were three fhips of uncommon magnitude for thofe times, the Michael, the Margaret, and the James. He

⁹⁰ Lefly, p. 358.⁹¹ Rym. tom. xii. p. 726.

gave

gave the command of the fleet to James Gordon, a son of the earl of Huntly; and of four thousand land forces on board, to his cousin James earl of Arran. Having received intelligence that the king of England, with a great army, had invaded France, the fleet sailed from Letih July 26th, and arrived safe. The troops, it is said, did good service in the war, for which their commander was rewarded with a pension, and the privileges of their countrymen, in that kingdom, confirmed and enlarged ⁹².

A.D. 1513-

It would have been fortunate, as well as prudent, if James had been contented with sending succours to his ally; and it is probable he would not have proceeded any farther, if he had not been provoked to it by the haughtiness of his brother-in-law, and the injuries his subjects had received from the English, for which he could obtain no redress. These injuries daily increased. As soon as the misunderstanding between the two monarchs was known, the borderers broke loose, and renewed their usual depredations. Towards the end of July a troop of Englishmen having plundered a part of the Merse, king James commanded the earl of Hume to collect his followers and revenge the injury. The earl entered England August 13th, at the head of three thousand men, desolated the country, and burnt several villages. But as they were returning with their booty in great security, they fell into an ambush, were defeated, and lost all their plunder ⁹³. Though this was no

Depredations.

⁹² Lefly, p. 359.⁹³ Hall, f. 38. Buchan, p. 250.

great

A.D. 1513

Letter to
king
Henry.

great matter in itself, it had a very bad effect, by inflaming the king's resentment beyond measure; it rendered him deaf to all advice; rash, violent, and precipitant, in all his proceedings.

James sent his principal herald, Lion king at arms, in his fleet to France, with a long letter to king Henry, in which he enumerated all the injuries he had received from him, and the reasons he had to declare war against him; the chief of which were these following:—In general, his unfriendly and unfair dealing towards him in all transactions, and on all occasions: In particular, his approving of the insidious deceitful conduct of his commissioners at the late meeting on the borders, by the frivolous excuses they made for their producing no criminals, and by their insisting upon a delay of all matters till October, when it had been promised that all things should be amicably settled at that meeting:—his refusing to grant a safe-conduct to an ambassador he had proposed to send to him; a thing that had never been done even by the Turks:—his retaining the legacies that had been left to his queen by her brother and father, out of hatred to him:—his refusing satisfaction for the slaughter of Andrew Bertoun, (which had been done by his command,) and still detaining his ship:—his protecting the bastard Heron, who had killed sir Robert Ker, warden of the middle marches:—his making war, without any provocation, on his two nearest relations and best allies, the king of France and duke of Gueldres, to whom he must look for assistance
when

when he stood in need. He, in the end, intreats A. D. 1523.
 him to desist from the prosecution of that war immediately, and acquaints him, that if he did not, he would be obliged, in consequence of his alliance with these princes, to take part with them, and to do that thing which he trusted would oblige him to desist ⁹⁴.

This letter was presented to Henry by lord Lion in the camp before Terouenne, who, having perused it, told the herald, he was ready to return an answer if he would promise to report it to his master. "I am (said he) my master's most faithful servant, and bound to obey his commands, but not those of any other. If it please your majesty, you may communicate your answer in writing, which I shall deliver; but my master requires actions rather than words." After consulting with his council, Henry delivered a letter to the herald, dated August 12th, written with great asperity, and containing some severe reproaches, refusing, in very positive terms, to comply with his requisition to desist from the prosecution of the war against the king of France ⁹⁵. But the herald was detained so long on the continent by contrary winds, that this letter came too late. Answer.

In the mean time James, knowing that Henry would not be deterred by a letter from prosecuting his enterprise, was eagerly engaged in raising an army to invade England in person. From that his queen and some of the wisest of his nobility endeavoured to dissuade him, by representing the Stratagem.

⁹⁴ Hollingsh. p. 295.

⁹⁵ Rym. tom. xiii. p. 380.

A.D. 1513.

weak state of his family; that he had only one child, an infant of sixteen months old; that they knew his native intrepidity would precipitate him into danger; and conjured him to consider in what danger and distress his family and his country would be involved, if he was either killed or taken prisoner. When all the tears, intreaties, and blandishments of his queen, and all the arguments of his counsellors, were ineffectual, they had recourse to a stratagem. As the king was one evening at vespers in St. Michael's church in Linlithgow, a tall personage of a venerable aspect, with a long beard, dressed in a gown of azure blue, girt about his body with a white sash, made his way through the crowd; and leaning on the king's desk, said, "I am sent from heaven, O king! to warn you not to proceed on your intended enterprise, which will be unfortunate; and to charge you to abstain from all familiarities with women, or the consequences will be most fatal." Having spoken thus, he retired. When prayers were ended, the king inquired for him, in order to examine him: but he could not be found; having, most probably, retired to his accomplices in the palace, which, is only a few paces from the church⁹⁶.

King
James in-
vades Eng-
land.

All the arguments and arts that were employed to dissuade or deter James from the intended expedition, served only to render him more determined and precipitate. Without waiting for all

⁹⁶ Buchan. lib. xiii. p. 251. Buchanan was told this story by Dr David Lindsay of the Mount who was standing near the king.

his forces, or for the return of his herald, he marched with the troops he had collected to the borders, passed the Tweed, August 22d, and encamped on that and the two following days on Twifel-haugh. At that place, August 24th, he published an act or declaration, with the consent of his nobles, "That the heirs of all who were
 " killed or died in the army during that expedition,
 " should pay nothing for their wardship, relief, or
 " marriage, without any regard to their age 97."

A.D. 1513.

The army in a few days made themselves masters of the castles of Wark, Norham, Heaton, and Etat, and in part demolished them. The castle of Ford was also taken, but preserved from demolition by the lady of the mansion. In this castle, it is said, James forgot the charge that had been given him by the apparition at Linlithgow, and, captivated by the conversation or personal charms of the lady, mis-spent his time, and neglected his affairs. However that may be the army remained about Ford several days in a state of inaction, and great numbers took that opportunity of deserting and returning home, some to secure the booty they had got, and others from discontent, or to avoid fatigue or danger. By this most unseasonable desertion the army was equally weakened and dispirited 98.

Takes
some
castles.

As the English had long expected, so they were well prepared for this invasion. As soon as the earl of Surry received intelligence that the Scots

Proceed-
ings of the
earl of
Surry.

97 Black Acts, f. 110.

98 Drummond, p. 74. Hall, f. 37, 38. Buchan. p. 251.

were

A.D. 1513.

were beginning to collect their forces, he dispatched messengers to all the noblemen and gentlemen in the northern counties to meet him, with all their followers, who had been mustered and trained on the first day of September at Newcastle. He set out from York August 27th; and though the roads were bad and the weather stormy, he marched day and night till he arrived at Durham; there he received the news of the surrender of Norham, which was believed to be impregnable, and whose captain had promised to keep the Scots at bay till the king returned from France. Having received the banner of St. Cuthbert from the prior, he proceeded August 30th to Newcastle, where he was joined by the lord Dacres, and many other chieftains, with their followers. Here a council of war was held, and the troops from all parts were appointed to rendezvous, September 4th, at Bolton in Glendale, about twenty miles from Ford, where the Scots army lay. The earl marched from Newcastle September 3d, to make room for the forces that were daily coming forward, and arrived at Alnwick that evening. There, on Sunday September 4th, he was joined by his heroic son the lord admiral of England, with a body of choice troops from the English army before Terouenne. This most fortunate junction, at so critical a time, gave great joy to the earl his father, and to the whole army⁹⁹.

Defiance.

From Alnwick the earl of Surry sent a herald to the king, to accuse him of having broken the

⁹⁹ Hall, f. 37, 38.

solemn oath he had taken to observe the treaty of perpetual peace, and to offer him battle on Friday September 9th, if he dared to abide till then on the territories of his master the king of England. The lord admiral sent a message to the king by the same herald, "That he had come from the continent to justify the slaughter of the pirate Andrew Bertoun: That he would take no quarter, and give none to any but the king." James, consulting only his own intrepid spirit, accepted the offer of a battle with alacrity; and in a short paper written by his secretary, vindicated himself from the accusation of having broken his oath, by observing, "Our brother was bound as far to us as we to him; and when we swore last before his ambassadors, in presence of our council, we expressed specially in our oath that we would keep to our brother, if our brother kept to us, and not else. We swear our brother broke first to us¹⁰⁰." We hear of no return he made to the lord admiral.

His nobility had before this earnestly importuned their king to return into Scotland, and supported their advice with strong arguments. "He had done enough (they said) for his allies, by detaining so great an army at home, and causing so many troops to return from the continent. He had also gained sufficient honour by taking and demolishing so many castles, and enriching his subjects with the spoils of their enemies. So many of their followers had gone home with

Advice of
the Scots
nobility.

¹⁰⁰ Hall, f. 40.

" these

A.D. 1513. "these spoils, and those who remained were so much weakened by fatigue and scarcity of provisions, that their army was become so inferior to that of the enemy both in strength and numbers, that the risk on both sides was not equal. Scotland hazarded her king, and almost all her nobility; England only a part of her nobility and common people: nor did the advantages to be gained by a victory, bear any proportion to the ruinous consequences of a defeat." These and other arguments were urged with so much warmth by Archibald Bell-the-cat earl of Angus, that the king in a passion told him, "If he was afraid, he might be gone." Irritated at the imputation of cowardice, which he did not deserve, and foreseeing the consequence, of the rash imprudent counsels that were adopted, he departed, but left two of his sons, and the greatest part of his followers, with the army¹⁰¹.

Encamp at
Flodden.

The noblemen and other chieftains finding the king was determined to give the English battle, intreated him to choose an advantageous situation, and prevailed on him to remove his camp from Ford to Flodden, a rising ground at a small distance on the skirts of Cheviot. This was a very well-chosen post, which might have been made very strong by a little art and labour. But these were not employed; only a battery was formed, and mounted with cannon pointing directly upon the bridge over the river Till. The soldiers built huts of earth, and covered them with straw, to

¹⁰¹ Buchan. p. 253.

screen themselves from the inclemency of the weather, which was very rainy, and there waited the approach of the enemy. A. D. 1513.

When all the English forces rendezvoused at Bolton September 5th, they were found to amount to twenty-six thousand fighting men, well armed and appointed in all respects, and impatient for action. They marched September 6th to Woollerhaugh, within three miles of the Scots camp, and there rested all the next day. The earl of Surry having discovered by his spies the situation the Scots had chosen, formed a scheme which he hoped would make them relinquish that advantage. Knowing the king's undaunted courage and high sense of honour, he wrote a letter, subscribed by himself and all the great men in his army, reproaching him for having changed his ground after he had accepted the offer of battle, and challenging him to descend, like a brave and honourable prince, into the spacious vale of Milfield that lay between the two armies, and there decide the quarrel on fair and equal terms. This scheme did not succeed. The king would not admit the herald who brought the letter into his presence, but sent him this verbal answer: "That it did not become an earl to dictate to a king: That he would use no dishonourable arts, and expected victory from the justice of his cause and the bravery of his subjects, and not from any advantage of ground"¹⁰¹.

¹⁰¹ Hall, f. 41.

A. D. 1513.

March of
the Eng-
lish.

The English army decamped from Woollerhaugh September 8th; but instead of marching down the banks of the Till towards the Scots, they passed that river near Wooller, directed their course towards Berwick, and encamped that night at Barmore. This made the Scots noblemen imagine that the enemy designed to pass the Tweed at Berwick, and plunder the fertile country of the Merse; and they importuned their sovereign to decamp, and march to the defence of his own dominions. But he declared that his honour was engaged, and that he was determined to abide there all the next day, which was the day appointed for the battle ¹⁰³.

The two
armies in
presence.

The English decamped from Barmore Friday morning September 9th, and directed their course towards the Tweed; which seems to have convinced the Scots that they designed to pass that river. About noon they set fire to their huts, the smoke of which prevented them from seeing their enemies, who had changed their direction, and marched with great expedition towards the Till. When the smoke was dissipated, the English infantry were seen passing that river by Twisfel bridge, and the cavalry at a ford a little higher. At that moment Robert Borthwick, who commanded the artillery, fell on his knees before the king, and begged his permission to fire upon the bridge, which, he said, he could break down, and prevent the rear of the enemy from passing. "If you fire

¹⁰³ Hall, f. 42. Buchan. p. 253.

“ one shot upon the bridge (cried the infatuated monarch) I will command you to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. I will have all my enemies before me, and fight them fairly ¹⁰⁴.”

His nobles pressed him to take his station on a rising ground in the rear of the army, whence he might see the whole field, and give the necessary commands. “ No, (said he,) I will live and die with my brave subjects; and if we obtain the victory, as I hope we shall, I will have my share of the honour ¹⁰⁵.” An imprudent and fatal resolution.

A. D. 1513.

The battle
of Flod-
den.

As soon as the English passed the Till they were drawn up in two lines, each consisting of a main battle (as it was called) in the centre, and two wings, with a strong body of reserve in the rear of both lines. The Scots were drawn up in one line, with a body of reserve in the rear. The battle began about four o'clock in the afternoon by a discharge of the artillery on both sides. Those of the Scots being situated too high, the balls flew over the heads of their enemies; but those of the English did great execution, which made the Scots impatient to come to a closer engagement. The earls of Huntley and Hume made a furious attack upon the right wing of the English, and threw it into disorder. The undisciplined Highlanders in the right wing of the Scots army observing this advantage, became ungovernable, broke their ranks, and rushed down in a tumultuary manner upon the left wing of the English, commanded by the lord

¹⁰⁴ Pittcottie, p. 116. ¹⁰⁵ Abercromby, p. 535. Hollingh. p. 300.

A.D. 1513.

Stanley. They were received with a calm and steady courage; and after a fierce and bloody struggle, in which their two leaders, the earls of Argyle and Lennox, fell, they were put to flight, and pursued a considerable way up the hill. By this time the main battle of the Scots, conducted by their king on foot, (accompanied by his amiable and accomplished son the archbishop of St. Andrews, with several other persons eminent for their rank and valour,) had engaged the main battle of the English, commanded by the earl of Surry, assisted by his valiant son the lord admiral. As these two great bodies approached each other the archers discharged flights of arrows, with one of which, it is said, the king was wounded. They soon came to a close engagement, hand to hand, and body to body, with swords, spears, spikes, and other instruments of death. The earl of Surry was supported by his second line and by the lord Stanley, the king by the earls of Bothwell and Huntley, and their followers. Then the battle raged with uncommon fury and great slaughter, till night put an end to the bloody contest, without its being known who had obtained the victory. The English retired a little from the field, and rested all night upon their arms. The Scots having lost their leaders, and being near their own country, went off in small parties in the night, some over the Tweed at Coldstream, and others by the dry marches. The earl of Hume and his numerous followers, who had not engaged in the last cruel conflict, and others who joined them,

remained on the field all night, employed in stripping the dead, and retired early in the morning with their booty, leaving the cannon behind them ¹⁰⁶.

A. D. 1513.

When the English approached the field of battle next morning, they found it abandoned, and no enemy to be seen, which gave them a good title to claim the victory. This title became much clearer, when the state of the loss of both armies was known. In point of numbers, it was nearly equal on both sides; but in the quality and importance of the persons slain, it was very different. James, impelled by his natural ardour and intrepidity, rushed into the midst of danger; and his nobles, animated, or rather misled, by his example, acted the same part. The consequence of this was, that the Scots lost their king and the flower of their nobility; a loss which the most complete victory could not have compensated. The king's body was found among the dead, and known by the lord Dacres, who had been ambassador at his court only a few months before, and was perfectly well acquainted with his person. It was conveyed to Berwick, and there shewn to sir William Scot and sir John Foreman his serjeant porter, who burst into tears at the sight, and acknowledged that it was the body of their beloved

Great loss
of Scots.

¹⁰⁶ Descriptions of this famous battle have been given by all our historians of both nations, and by several foreigners. Those of them who lived nearest the time, seem to have written under the influence of national prejudices, and their accounts are very contradictory. The above is what hath appeared to me most probable, and nearest the truth.

A.D. 1513.

master¹⁰⁷. The idle contradictory tales of his escape from the battle that were long believed by the vulgar, are unworthy of a place in history. Alexander Stewart, archbishop of St. Andrews, the king's natural son, and the pupil of Erasmus, a youth of great hopes, was found dead by the side of his royal father; with George Hepburn, the marshal bishop of the isles; and the abbots of Kilwinning and Incheffray. No fewer than twelve earls, thirteen lords, and about four hundred knights and gentlemen of Scotland fell in this fatal battle¹⁰⁸: a most deplorable loss to so small a kingdom; and yet the survivors were not dispirited¹⁰⁹.

James
buried.

The king's body was embalmed at Berwick, and sent from thence to the monastery of Sheene near Richmond, where it lay a considerable time unburied, because he had been excommunicated by the pope for his adherence to the king of France, and his opposition to the holy league. King Henry applied to the pope to take off the sentence of excommunication, that he might bury his late brother-in-law, (who had, he said, exhibited signs of contrition in his dying moments,) in the cathedral of St. Paul's, as he intended. His holiness, out of his regard to the king of England, to the royal dignity and many virtues of the late king of Scotland, granted authority to the bishop of London

¹⁰⁷ Hall, f. 43.

¹⁰⁸ Abercromby, p. 546. Weaver's Fun. Mon. p. 834.

¹⁰⁹ See Sir David Dalrymple's Remarks on the History of Scotland, p. 147.

to take off the sentence of excommunication, if upon trial he found sufficient evidences of his contrition ¹¹⁰. This farce was accordingly acted; the dead prince was tried, absolved, and at last buried, not in St. Paul's, but in the monastery of Sheene, where his body, wrapt in lead, was seen long after by Mr. Stowe the historian ¹¹¹.

A. D. 1523.

James IV. was killed at Flodden September 9th, A. D. 1513, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign. He was of a middle stature, remarkably strong and agile. By continual exercise he became capable of bearing very uncommon degrees of labour, cold, thirst, and hunger. His face was sweet and amiable; and he had so great a command of his countenance, if not of his passions, that he seldom changed colour on hearing good or bad news. He was easy of access, and his deportment was at once dignified and affable, never using harsh or severe expressions, even when he was offended. He excelled in all the martial and manly exercises that were admired and fashionable in his time, and made a distinguished figure at all tilts and tournaments, in which he personated king Arthur, or the savage knight, in honour of his lady the queen of France. His sense of honour was high and a little romantic, having imbibed no small portion of the spirit of ancient chivalry, which influenced him not only in his diversions, but in his most important affairs. His personal courage was of that kind which courts rather than avoids danger; and his history

Character
of James
IV.¹¹⁰ Rym. tom. xiii. p. 385.¹¹¹ Stowe, p. 494.

A.D. 1523.

affords a striking proof that a prince may have too much as well as too little personal courage, and that the former of these extremes may be as fatal to himself and to his subjects as the latter. Though he was not learned, he was a friend to learning, and contributed to promote it, both by his laws and by his bounty. Like his father, he had a taste for the arts, particularly for ecclesiastical, civil, and naval architecture. He built several churches in a good style, repaired and ornamented his palaces, and his great ship the *St. Michael* was universally admired. His court was greater and more splendid than that of any of his predecessors, or indeed than his revenues could well afford. In the administration of justice he was as rigorous as he was equitable, and reduced even the remote parts of his kingdom to some degree of order and submission to the laws. Some of our historians, particularly bishop Lesly, are lavish in their praises of his piety; which, according to their account, was not of the most rational kind, but consisted very much in pilgrimages to the shrines of different saints for obtaining the pardon of his sins; and in doing this, he sometimes added to their number. It was in one of these pious peregrinations that he seduced the lady Jean Kennedy, a daughter of the earl of Cassillis. His inordinate passion for the sex was indeed the greatest blemish in his character, and proved one of the causes of his ruin.

His issue.

James IV. had by his queen four sons:—1. James, born February 25th, A. D. 1508, who died 14th July 1510. 2. Arthur, born 20th October 1509, who

who died in his infancy. 3. James, born 5th April 1511, who succeeded him. 4. Alexander, a posthumous son, born 30th April 1514, who died 15th January 1517. His natural children mentioned in history were these:—1. Alexander archbishop of St. Andrews, by Mary Boyd, daughter of Archibald Boyd of Bonshaw. 2. Catherine, married to James earl of Morton, by the same lady. 3. James earl of Moray, by lady Jean Kennedy, a daughter of the earl of Caillies. 4. Margaret, married to John lord Gordon, by Margaret, daughter of John lord Drummond. 5. Jean married to Malcolm lord Fleming, by lady Isabel Stewart, daughter of James earl of Buchan¹¹². A.D. 1513.

S E C T. II.

From the Accession of James V. A. D. 1513, to his Death, A. D. 1542.

AT the accession of James V. when he was only one year five months and four days old, Scotland was in great confusion and distress; a scene of sorrow and lamentation for the loss of the king, the flower of the nobility and gentry, and of some thousands of inferior rank, who all fell in the fatal battle of Flodden. But in the midst of this distress no symptoms of despair appeared, no thoughts of submission were entertained. An invasion was ex-

State of
Scotland.

¹¹² Crawford's History of the Stewarts, p. 32, 33.

pected,

A. D. 1513.

pected, and a vigorous resistance was resolved¹¹³. Contrary to their expectation, the enemy did not discover a great inclination to improve the advantage they had gained. A troop of sixty horsemen ventured to pass the Tweed and Coldstream on the morning after the battle, and were all taken prisoners¹¹⁴. Though the earl of Surry was sufficiently elated by his victory, he did not think it prudent to pursue it, but disbanded his army and returned to London, which gave the Scots leisure to settle their government.

The queen
regent.

The late king had by his last will appointed the queen to be regent of the kingdom, and guardian to her son, while she continued a widow. In that capacity she called a convention of the three estates to meet at Stirling December 21st, where they swore fealty to their infant monarch, and then adjourned to Edinburgh, to hold a parliament¹¹⁵. By this parliament the queen was acknowledged regent, though no woman before had ever borne that office; but a cabinet council was appointed, consisting of James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, the earls of Arran, Huntley, and Angus, without whose advice she was to transact no business of importance¹¹⁶.

A. D. 1514.
The queen
writes to
her brother.

As soon as the queen was thus established in the government, she wrote to her brother, the king of England, earnestly intreating him not to distress her and her infant son, his nearest relations, by making war upon them. Henry, who was natu-

¹¹³ Epistolæ R. S. tom. i. p. 186.¹¹⁴ Hall, f. 43.¹¹⁵ Lesly, p. 367.¹¹⁶ Ibid.

rally affectionate to his relations, answered, that the Scots should have either peace or war as they inclined. If they chose war, they should have war; if they chose peace, they should have peace¹¹⁷. This was a prudent, as well as a humane resolution; as he was then engaged in a war with France, in which he had been shamefully deserted by his faithless confederates, the pope, the emperor, and the king of Spain. A truce for one year and one day, it is said, was made in the beginning of this year; but of this there is not sufficient evidence.

A. D. 1514

The queen was delivered of a son April 30th, who was named Alexander, but died January 15th, A. D. 1517. This princess was only in the twenty-fourth year of her age; and though she knew that the continuance of her power depended on her continuing a widow, love triumphed over ambition, and she married, August 6th, Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, without having consulted her brother, the king of England, or any of her own council. She had this apology to make for herself, that the nobleman she had chosen for her husband was young, handsome, rich, and powerful, the head of one of the most illustrious families in the kingdom. This marriage, however, was unfortunate, and proved the source of much disquiet to herself, and of many calamities to Scotland¹¹⁸.

The
queen's
marriage.

On the day after the queen's marriage; August 7th, a peace was concluded at London, between France and England, in which the Scots, as the allies of France, were comprehended, on the fol-

¹¹⁷ Drummond, p. 156. Buchan. p. 256.

¹¹⁸ Lesly, p. 370.

A.D. 1514.

lowing reasonable conditions: 1. That the Scots did not invade England, by the authority of their government, after the 15th of September next. 2. That they did not make any incursion without that authority, with above three hundred men. 3. That they intimated their willingness to be comprehended in the peace¹¹⁹. This is a proof that there was no truce between the English and Scots at this time. It is also a proof that the French did not deserve the reproaches that have been cast upon them by some of our historians, of having abandoned the Scots in this treaty, who had suffered so much on their account¹²⁰. Lewis XII. was incapable of an action so dishonourable.

Duke of
Albany
chosen go-
vernor.

No sooner were the Scots delivered from all apprehensions of a war with England, than they fell into the most violent internal broils. These were occasioned partly by a competition for the archbishopric of St. Andrews, which shall be related in its proper place, and partly by the queen's marriage. When that marriage was made public, it gave great offence to several of the young nobility, who thought themselves slighted, and to some of the ancient counsellors, who had not been consulted; but to none more than to the archbishop of Glasgow and the earl of Arran, two of the cabinet council appointed by parliament. The queen devolved all her authority upon her husband, who, we may presume, was not a little elated by so great an accession of honour, power, and wealth, which increased the number and inflamed the

¹¹⁹ Rym, tom. xiii. p. 419.¹²⁰ Lefly, p. 371.

passions

passions of his enemies. It was the common cry of these enemies, that the queen had forfeited all title to the government by her marriage, and that another governor should be immediately chosen. They did not agree so well in their choice of the person to be advanced to that dignity. Some proposed the earl of Arran, the king's near relation; but Alexander lord Hume, who, on account of his great experience, his great estate, and numerous vassals, had no little influence, so strenuously supported the nomination of the duke of Albany, that he was chosen, and a deputation was sent into France, to invite him to come immediately into Scotland, to take upon him the government of the kingdom¹²¹.

A. D. 1514

John duke of Albany stood in the same relation to the king with the earl of Arran, but with this advantage, that it was by the male line. The earl of Arran was the son of the lady Margaret, sister to James III.; the duke was the son of Alexander duke of Albany, brother to that prince. The duke inherited great estates in France by his mother the countess of Boulogne, was in high favour with the king of France, and had acquired the reputation of a brave and able commander in the wars of Italy. Though Lewis XII. was pleased to see one of his subjects, on whose attachment he could depend, advanced to the government of Scotland, he did not think it prudent to give umbrage to the king of England, (with whom he had lately concluded a peace, and whose sister he was about to marry,) by sending the duke of

Embassy.

¹²¹ Lefly, p. 369. Buchan. p. 156.

A. D. 1414. Albany to supplant his other sister, the queen of Scotland. Nor was the duke very willing to undertake the government of a nation to whose language, laws, and manners he was a stranger, till he knew with what powers he was to be invested, and what advantages he was to enjoy. In particular, he insisted on being restored to his father's honours and estates that had been confiscated and annexed to the crown. He sent his friend, monsieur De La Beauté, who arrived in Scotland November 20th, to excuse his not coming till after the king of France's marriage, (at which he was obliged to attend,) and to settle all preliminaries. His party was now so strong that preliminaries were soon settled; he was restored to all his father's honours and estate; and by way of security, the castle of Dunbar was delivered to his ambassador ¹²².

A. D. 1515.
Deplorable
state of
Scotland.

In the mean time Scotland was a scene of the most deplorable anarchy. The heads of clans pursued their family feuds without restraint; thieves and robbers followed their infamous employments with impunity; the poor and peaceable were plundered and oppressed. The queen, or rather the earl of Angus in her name, continued to exercise some authority; but it served only to increase the disorders of their country, and the number and violence of their own enemies. Provoked at the exclamations of Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, against their marriage, they deprived him of the office of chancellor. This inflamed his resentment beyond measure. He put on armour under

¹²² Drummond, p. 160.

A.D. 1515.

his pontifical robes, came to Edinburgh at the head of the vassals of his see, and being joined by the Hamiltons, fought a kind of pitched battle against Angus and the Douglasses in the streets of the metropolis¹²³. In this action the prelate and his friends were put to flight, about seventy were killed, and among these were several persons of rank. The earls of Lennox and Glencairn took the castle of Dunbarton by surprise, and turned out the lord Erskine and his garrison¹²⁴. These and other disorders made the nation in general, and especially those who favoured the French, impatient for the arrival of the duke of Albany, from whose administration they expected great advantages. The prevalence of the French party, and the popularity of the duke of Albany, were so great at this time, that the queen and her husband thought it prudent to secure an asylum in England; and on January 23d, they obtained a safe-conduct for themselves and three hundred persons in their company, to come into England and reside in it one year¹²⁵.

Though the duke of Albany had been much importuned by his party in Scotland to hasten his arrival in that kingdom, he was detained in France several months by various events; particularly by the marriage of Lewis XII. with the princess Mary of England, the death of that prince, the accession of Francis I. and the negotiations of peace between France and England. While these things were in agitation, it was not thought prudent to

Arrival of
the duke of
Albany.

¹²³ Pitcottie, p. 121.¹²⁴ Lefly, p. 374.¹²⁵ Rym. p. 473.

provoke

A. D. 1515.

Parliament.

provoke Henry, by sending the duke into Scotland. But the treaty of peace (in which the Scots were included) having been signed April 5th, he was permitted to depart with a convoy of eight stout ships, and landed May 18th at the town of Ayr¹²⁶.

The nobility and gentry of both parties crowded from all corners to attend the duke, as soon as they heard of his arrival, and conducted him to the capital. The queen, yielding with a good grace to a torrent that she could not stem, met him between Glasgow and Edinburgh, with her congratulations, which, we may presume, were not very sincere¹²⁷. In a parliament that met at Edinburgh July 12th, the three estates took an oath of obedience to the duke of Albany, as guardian to the king and governor of the kingdom during the king's minority; and the duke took an oath to protect them in all their liberties, and to govern according to the laws of the land. The duke was put in possession of all his father's estates and honours, and his titles in all public acts were these: John duke of Albany, earl of March, Mar, and Garcoch, lord of Annandale and the Isle of Man, tutor to the king, and regent of Scotland¹²⁸.

Peace.

The duke immediately after he landed entered upon the government, and wrote from Glasgow May 22d, to the king of France; notifying his approbation of a letter that had been written to

¹²⁶ Rym. p. 476—487. Epist. Regum Scotorum, p. 233.

¹²⁷ Drummond, p. 160.

¹²⁸ Epistolæ Regum Scotorum. Rym. tom. xiii. p. 510.

that

A.D. 1515.

that king by the council of Scotland three days before his arrival; giving their consent to be comprehended in the peace he had lately made with England. The letter of the Scots council, which he thus approved, was a very spirited performance; in which they told the king of France, that they had entertained no thoughts of a peace or truce with England, but had been resolved upon revenge; and that it was out of respect to him, and at his earnest request, that they consented to be comprehended in the peace ¹²⁹.

The laws
executed.

A kind of peace with England, though certainly not very cordial, being thus restored, the duke applied himself with vigour to correct the internal disorders of the state, by establishing the authority of the laws, and bringing those who violated them to justice. To convince the great that they were no longer to commit acts of violence with impunity, he brought the lord Drummond to trial, for having given the lord Lion a blow within the verge of the court, confiscated his estate, and with great difficulty was prevailed upon to spare his life ¹³⁰. One Peter Moffat, a noted robber, having had the impudence to appear at court, was seized, condemned, and executed; which struck terror into all his associates, and others of a similar character ¹³¹. By these and other spirited acts of justice, a visible change was soon produced on the state of the country; and security, peace, and good order, were introduced.

¹²⁹ Rym. p. 508—512.¹³⁰ Lesly, p. 360.¹³¹ Buchan, p. 258.

A. D. 1515.

Letter to
the pope.

Henry VIII. was far from being pleased with the establishment of the duke of Albany in the government of Scotland, as he knew him to be wholly devoted to France. He attempted therefore to deprive him of that government, by assuming it to himself, on account of his being uncle to the young king, and consequently the natural guardian of his person, and protector of his dominions. This claim, which Henry had communicated to the pope, roused the indignation and jealousy of the Scots. They wrote a very strong letter to his holiness July 3d, in which they declared, that their king, with the consent of the three estates, and of the queen his mother, had chosen his nearest relation the duke of Albany, for his guardian and governor of his kingdom; that the kings of Scotland, in their minority, had never needed any foreign protectors; and particularly, that the kings of England, though they had often attempted it, had never obtained any authority over them, or direction in their affairs. In the conclusion, they conjure the pope not to consider any person as governor of Scotland but the duke of Albany, and to grant the prelacies of the kingdom only on his nomination¹³².

The regent
deceived.

Though the duke of Albany was an accomplished prince, and animated with the best intentions, he laboured under some disadvantages, that rendered his administration neither so comfortable to himself, nor so beneficial to his country, as it would otherwise have been. A stranger to the

¹³² Rym. p. 513. Epist. Regum Scotorum, p. 233.

language,

language, laws, and manners of the people in general, and unacquainted with the characters, connexions, and circumstances of the leading men of the nation, he was exposed to the danger of being deceived, and infected with the passions of those from whom he received his information. This actually happened. John Hepburn, prior of St. Andrews, unfortunately gained his confidence, and gave him such impressions as he pleased. Hepburn was eloquent, plausible, and insinuating, but deceitful, covetous, and vindictive; inflamed with the most implacable hatred against the earl of Angus and the lord Hume, because they had successfully opposed his pretensions to the primacy. He laboured therefore with much art and assiduity to alienate the mind of the regent from those two noblemen, and to inspire him with jealousy of their power and ambition; and his labours were too successful¹³³.

A. D. 1515.

The lord Hume soon perceived a change in the countenance and behaviour of the regent towards him, which he could not bear with patience. Irritated at his ingratitude, and too proud to endure contempt, he resolved upon revenge, and determined to pull him down from the eminence to which he had raised him. With this view he solicited a reconciliation with the queen and her husband, which was easily obtained; and it was agreed, that the queen should fly with her two sons into England, and put herself and them under the protection of her brother. But this most danger-

A conspiracy.

¹³³ Buchan. p. 259.

A. D. 1515.

The con-
spirators
fly to Eng-
land.

ous plot being discovered to the regent, he flew to Stirling August 10th, was admitted into the castle, and committed the two princes to the custody of three noblemen on whose fidelity he could depend ¹³⁴.

The conspirators finding that their plot was discovered, consulted their safety by flight. The lord Hume, with his brother William, and a number of his most resolute followers, retired into England, where they were well received. The queen, and her husband the earl of Angus, took sanctuary in a nunnery at Coldstream, and there waited the return of a messenger they had sent to the court of England. The messenger returned with orders to the lord Dacres, warden of the marches, to receive the queen of Scotland with all the honours due to her rank, and conduct her to the castle of Harbottle. In that castle she was delivered October 7th, of a daughter, the lady Margaret Douglas, who became the mother of lord Darnly, and the grandmother of king James, the first monarch of Great Britain ¹³⁵.

The queen's retreat, or rather flight, gave no little uneasiness to the regent. He wished to preserve peace with England, and he apprehended that she would give so provoking a representation of his conduct as would produce a war. To prevent this, he dispatched an ambassador to London, to express the great surprise and sorrow he had felt on the queen's retreat; to declare that he had given her no reason for taking that step; and to

¹³⁴ Buchan. p. 259. Lesly. p. 377.¹³⁵ Ibid.

give

give the strongest assurances that if she would return she should be treated with all possible respect and honour, and permitted to enjoy all her possessions and rights in peace¹³⁶. These declarations prevented a war, but did not induce the queen to return.

A.D. 1515.

The lord Hume, and the desperadoes who followed him, harassed the borders of Scotland, in the months of August and September, with frequent incursions, which so irritated the regent, that he caused all their houses and lands to be seized, and marched with some troops to the borders, to put a stop to these depredations. The earl of Angus, who had remained quiet, having received a private invitation and promise of impunity, came to the regent and was very favourably received. The lord Hume and his brother, either encouraged by this, or dispirited by their losses, came October 6th, and threw themselves at the regent's feet, and implored his mercy; but they did not meet with the same favourable reception. They were conducted to Edinburgh, committed to the castle, to the custody of their brother-in-law, the earl of Arran, with a declaration, that if he suffered them to escape he should be considered as guilty of high treason¹³⁷.

Lord
Hume im-
prisoned.

It is difficult, or rather impossible, to discover the secret motives that influenced the conduct of that powerful turbulent nobleman Alexander lord Hume on many occasions, and particularly in the great exertions he used to deprive the queen of the regency, to prevent the election of the earl of

Rebellion.

¹³⁶ Buchan. p. 259.

¹³⁷ Letly, p. 378.

A.D. 1515.

Arran, his sister's husband, and to promote the election of the duke of Albany, an absolute stranger. But he discovered no little art in his attempts to pull down Albany from the high station to which he had contributed so much to raise him. He not only drew his two most mortal enemies, the queen and the earl of Angus, into a plot against the regent, but he now prevailed upon his keeper, the earl of Arran, to betray his trust, by setting him and his brother at liberty, and even to join with them in an open rebellion¹³⁸. They all three went out of the castle on foot in the middle of the night in the month of October, and made all possible haste to raise their followers.

The regent, greatly incensed at the treachery of Arran and the inveteracy of Hume, raised a body of troops with his usual celerity, and invested the castle of Hamilton, resolving to raze it to the foundation. But this castle contained a very powerful defender, who saved both it and its owner from destruction. This was the lady Margaret Stewart countess Dowager of Arran, daughter of James II. sister of James III. and aunt of James IV. and of the duke of Albany. At the earnest supplication of this venerable lady, the duke desisted from the siege, and promised to pardon her son, the earl of Arran, upon his submission. The earl informed of this, submitted and was pardoned¹³⁹. The lord Hume, not having so powerful an intercessor, was not treated with the same lenity. By a parliament that was sitting at the time of his escape, he and his two brothers, David and Wil-

¹³⁸ Lesly, p. 378.¹³⁹ Ibid. p. 379.

liam, were declared rebels, and their estates confiscated. The Humes, enraged by those severe proceedings, returned to their predatory incursions; in one of which they burnt the town of Dunbar, only twenty-seven miles from Edinburgh. Such were the confusions that reigned in Scotland A. D. 1515.

A. D. 1515.

The commissioners of the two kingdoms met at Coldingham in January, A. D. 1516, and concluded a truce from the middle of that month to Whitsunday. After much opposition from the Scots commissioners the lord Hume was comprehended in this truce, which saved that turbulent chieftain once more from the destruction with which he was threatened. His attainder was taken off by a parliament that met in May, and he was restored to his estate and honours; but with this express declaration, that if he committed any new acts of rebellion or disobedience, all his former crimes should be remembered against him in judgment¹⁴⁰.

A. D. 1516.
A truce.

The duke of Albany, and the earl of Angus the queen's husband, endeavoured to persuade her to return to Scotland, by giving her the strongest assurances of an honourable reception, and the enjoyment of all her rights¹⁴¹, but in vain; she was a princess of strong passions, and when once offended not easily appeased. Having spent the winter and spring in the castle of Harbottle, she set out for London, where she arrived May 3d, and

Queen
goes to the
English
court.¹⁴⁰ Drummond, p. 166. Lesly, p. 382.¹⁴¹ *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, p. 238.

A. D. 1516.

was received in the most affectionate manner by her brother king Henry and her sister Mary, queen dowager of France ¹⁴².

Corre-
spondence.

The queen of Scotland did not conceal her animosity against the duke of Albany, or her fears for the safety of her son in the custody of the nearest heir to his crown; and she seems to have inspired her brother with the same passions. Ambassadors from Scotland were then in London negotiating a truce, and by them Henry sent a letter to the three estates, expressing in very strong terms his apprehensions for the safety of the infant king his nephew, and intreating them to divest the duke of Albany of the regency, and oblige him to return to France, as the only means of preserving peace between the two kingdoms. To this letter the parliament of Scotland returned a respectful, but very spirited answer; in which they gave the duke of Albany a very high character, for his wisdom, probity, and honour, and his tender care of the person of their young king; "against whom," said they, "we firmly believe he would not attempt any thing, to obtain the three kingdoms of France, England, and Scotland." They vindicated their own conduct in chusing the duke to be regent of the kingdom and tutor of the king, as agreeable to the laws of their country and practice of their ancestors; and declared, that they could not deprive him of the high office to which they had voluntarily raised him, without dishonouring themselves ¹⁴³. This letter was subscribed and

¹⁴² Hall, f. 58.¹⁴³ Rym. p. 550.

sealed by all the prelates and lords of parliament at A. D. 1516.
 Edinburgh July 4th, A. D. 1516.

The duke of Albany sent his friend, the count De Fayette, to the court of England with this letter, together with certain propositions from himself, tending to remove misunderstandings, and promote peace between the two kingdoms. These propositions, ten in number, were well calculated to preserve peace upon equitable terms; but contained no concessions that indicated a fear of war, and breathed the same bold independent spirit with the parliament's letter. They were referred by Henry to his favourite, cardinal Wolfey; and that haughty prelate assented to them all, with a few trivial explanations, to save the appearance of an implicit compliance. For example, by the eighth article it is proposed, that the custody and safe-keeping of the king of Scots should belong to the members of his council and the three estates of parliament, and that no other person should presume to intermeddle with it. Though this article was evidently contrived to prevent the interference of the king of England, the cardinal assented to it, with this unmeaning addition, "provided the king of Scots be safely kept." Three of the articles were calculated to engage the queen dowager to return to Scotland, which the duke of Albany very much desired; knowing she could do him less hurt there, than in the court of England. The cardinal, in his master's name, signed his assent to all the propositions July 24th; and on the last day of that month he signed a prolongation of
 the

A. D. 1516.

the truce to November 30th, A. D. 1517, that the plenipotentiaries of the two kingdoms might have time to negotiate a peace ¹⁴⁴.

Execu-
tions.

The prolongation of the truce with England gave the regent leisure to attend to the internal police of the country, and to call the most dangerous disturbers and plunderers to an account. The baron of Strouan, a highland chieftain, who, at the head of a band of robbers of his own clan, had long harassed the neighbouring countries, was apprehended by the earl of Athol, and beheaded at Logurial, which struck terror into the other plunderers of the remote parts ¹⁴⁵. The next person he attacked was of a higher rank and much greater power. This was Alexander lord Hume, hereditary chamberlain of Scotland, warden of all the marches, and the head of a numerous and warlike clan; a nobleman formidable by his power and riches, but still more formidable by his artful, factious, and daring character. While the regent resided at Faulkland in August this year, Hepburn, prior of St. Andrews, was often with him in private, and filled his mind with so much dread and jealousy of lord Hume, that he determined his destruction. To accomplish this, he came to Edinburgh in September, and called a convention of the nobles, to which he invited lord Hume by particular letters, earnestly intreating his attendance. He accordingly set out, (contrary to the advice of several of his friends,) accompanied by his brother William, and his friend sir Andrew

¹⁴⁴ Rym. p. 574.¹⁴⁵ Lesly, p. 382.

Ker of Firnehurst. They were received by the regent with every mark of regard they could desire, but were soon after seized and committed to different prisons. They were not suffered to languish long in confinement. The lord Hume and his brother were brought to their trial October 10th. The recent offences of which they were accused, were probably not very great, but advantage was taken of that singular clause in their last pardon, "That if they committed any new offences, their pardon should be null and void, and all their former crimes should be laid to their charge." This was accordingly done; they were found guilty of treason, and sentenced to be beheaded, and their heads to be set up on the gates of Edinburgh. This sentence was executed on the lord Hume October 11th, and on his brother the day after ¹⁴⁶. Sir Andrew Ker made his escape. This insidious and severe proceeding excited fears and suspicions in some of the nobility, and a thirst for revenge in the friends of the ruined family.

A. D. 1516.

The duke of Albany had found the government of Scotland a very difficult and laborious office, and wished for a fair occasion of returning to France, to visit his family, and to attend to his affairs in that country. Such an occasion now offered. Francis I. sent an ambassador into Scotland in the spring, A. D. 1517, to solicit the renewal of the ancient league between the two kingdoms, and the duke prevailed upon a convention of the estates to give him a commission to negotiate that affair at

A. D. 1517.
Albany
goes to
France.¹⁴⁶ Lesly, p. 383. Buchan. p. 280.

A.D. 1527.

the court of France, upon his giving them a promise he would return in six months. Before his departure, he constituted the earls of Arran, Angus, Huntley, and Argyle, the archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, with sir Anthony d'Arcy, Sieur de la Beauté, a French nobleman, his substitutes. To prevent disputes among his viceroyants, he allotted a particular district to each of them; and as he reposed the greatest confidence in sir Anthony d'Arcy, he appointed him warden of the borders, and governor of the neighbouring countries. For the security of the king's person, he brought him from the castle of Stirling to the castle of Edinburgh, and committed him to the care of the earl of Marshal, the lords Ruthven and Borthwick, with his governor the lord Erskine. Still further to prevent commotions, he confined some of the most turbulent chieftains in the castles of Dunbarton, Dunbar, and Garvil. Taking with him the earl of Lennox, with the eldest sons of the earl of Arran, Huntly, and Glencairn, (under the pretence of doing them honour and perfecting their education, but in reality as hostages for the good behaviour of their friends,) he embarked at Dunbarton for France about the middle of June ¹⁴⁷.

The queen
returns to
Scotland.

The queen of Scotland having spent about fourteen months in the court of England, and hearing of the departure of the duke of Albany, set out (attended by a splendid train of English lords and ladies) on her return home. When she arrived at Berwick, she was waited upon by her husband the

¹⁴⁷ Lesly, p. 367. Buchan. p. 261. Drummond, p. 256.

A. D. 1517.

earl of Angus, who met with a very cold reception. She had been greatly offended with him for deserting her at Harbottle, and making his peace with the regent; but she was still more offended with him for his gallantries during her absence, of which she had received intelligence. Like her brother Henry, as her love had been violent, her jealousy was invincible, and she never could be reconciled to him. She was received at Edinburgh with all the honours due to her rank, but was not admitted into the castle to visit her son. The lords who had the custody of the king's person were of the French faction, and warmly attached to the duke of Albany; they knew that the king's grandfather had been conveyed, or rather stolen, out of the castle of Edinburgh by the queen his mother; they knew also that the present queen had once formed a plot to carry her son into England, and suspected that she still entertained the same design. These were the causes of their extreme caution, and the only apologies that can be made for their incivility¹⁴⁸. Upon a report that the plague had appeared at Edinburgh, the king was carried to the castle of Craigmillar, where the queen was admitted to visit him; but her visits were so frequent, that they confirmed the suspicions of the lords who had the care of his person; and they conducted him back to the castle of Edinburgh, from which the queen was excluded¹⁴⁹.

All the precautions that had been taken by the duke of Albany to prevent disorders in Scotland

The war-
den slain.

¹⁴⁸ See vol. ix. p. 329.¹⁴⁹ Lesly, p. 387.

A.D. 1517.

{

in his absence were ineffectual. The *Sieur de la Beauté*, to whom he committed the wardenship of the borders, was well qualified for that very difficult office. He was not only remarkable for the beauty of his person and elegance of his manners, but respectable for his virtues and abilities. Having no family connexions to bias his mind, he administered justice with courage and impartiality. But these virtues served only to increase the number, and inflame the rage of his enemies, who disliked him as a foreigner, and dreaded and detested him as a just intrepid magistrate. As he was holding a court at Dunse September 20th, attended only by a few gentlemen and his own servants, a body of the Humes in arms, headed by sir David Hume of Wedderburn, came to that place, insulted him, and killed some of his French servants. The warden, perceiving his danger, got on horseback, and attempted to save himself by flight: but his horse having unfortunately stuck in a marsh, his cruel pursuers came up, instantly struck off his head, and carried it in triumph to their leader, who set it upon the gate of Hume castle¹⁵⁰. So proud was sir David Hume of this exploit, that he commanded the warden's hair (which was remarkably long and beautiful) to be cut off, and wore it as a trophy at his saddle-bow¹⁵¹.

Earl of
Arran
warden.

Though the other governors, it is said, were not much afflicted at the hard fate of the warden, at whose promotion they had repined, they could not

¹⁵⁰ Buchan. p. 261. Lesly, p. 387. Drummond, p. 171.

¹⁵¹ Piuscottie, p. 130.

overlook so daring an outrage against government. In order to bring the delinquents to justice, they appointed the earl of Arran warden of the borders. The earl of Angus, who thought himself better intitled to that office on account of his estates in those parts, was greatly provoked at this appointment, and it gave rise to a family feud between the Hamiltons and the Douglasses, which continued long, and produced very fatal effects¹⁵². This feud was much inflamed by the spirited conduct of Arran, who committed sir George Douglas the brother, and Mark Carr the friend, of the earl of Angus, to the castle of Edinburgh, as confederates and favourers of the Humes.

A. D. 1517.

The earl of Arran, as chief of the deputed governors, called a parliament to meet at Edinburgh February 19th, A. D. 1518. In this parliament sir David Hume and his accomplices were condemned to death, and their estates confiscated, for the murder of the late warden, and other crimes¹⁵³.

A. D. 1518.
Parliament.

Immediately after the conclusion of the parliament, the earl of Arran, with a considerable army and a train of artillery, marched towards the borders; but he met with no opposition, and put garrisons into the castles of Hume, Wedderburn, and Lanton. Sir David Hume and his accomplices had previously retired into England, where they found a secure asylum¹⁵⁴.

Castles surrendered.

Though the duke of Albany now resided in France, he still acted as regent of Scotland; and in

Truce.

¹⁵² Lely, p. 388.¹⁵³ Ibid.¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

that

D. A. 1518.

that capacity prolonged the truce with England to November 30th, A. D. 1519, to which another year was afterwards added¹⁵⁵. He took care also to have the king and kingdom of Scotland comprehended in the treaty of peace concluded between France and England at London October 2d, A. D. 1518¹⁵⁶. By these treaties the external peace of the kingdom was for some time secured.

Disorders
in Scot-
land.

But notwithstanding this, the absence of the duke of Albany was very severely felt by the people of Scotland. While that prince was present he kept the fierce and turbulent chieftains in some degree of order and submission to the laws, by his superior authority and great abilities; but after his departure the country became a scene of violence, anarchy, and confusion. His substitutes were at variance among themselves, and one of them protected the criminal whom another attempted to punish. Competitions for offices, and even disputes about property, were determined by the sword; and family feuds were prosecuted with unrelenting fury. A kind of pitched battle was fought between the Hamiltons and the Douglasses, and their several partisans, near Kelfo, in which the Hamiltons were defeated. Sir David Hume of Wedderburn, with his followers, made frequent inroads into the merse, in one of which, October 6th, A. D. 1519, he killed Robert Blackader, prior of Coldingham, and six of his servants, to make way for William Douglas, abbot of Holyrood-house, and brother to the earl of Angus, who

¹⁵⁵ Rym. tom. xiii. p. 600.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid. p. 624.

obtained that priory. In a word, the Humes became triumphant on the borders, and took possession of their castles and estates that had been forfeited. Their party still prevailing, George, the eldest surviving brother of the late lord Hume, was restored by parliament August 12th A. D. 1522¹⁵⁷.

A. D. 1519-
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The two great parties, the English and French, into which Scotland was long divided, were now completely formed. The earl of Angus was the head of the English, and the earl of Arran, in the absence of the duke of Albany, was the head of the French party. Such of the nobility as were friends to the peace and prosperity of their country, laboured to bring about a reconciliation between these two powerful noblemen, and a meeting was appointed to be held at Edinburgh in May A. D. 1520 for that purpose. Angus suspecting no danger, and expecting to be joined by his friends from the Merse, came to Edinburgh with a slender retinue. The earl of Arran, and Beaton archbishop of Glasgow, with their friends, finding themselves much stronger than the other party, resolved to shut the gates, and seize the earl of Angus and his principal followers. Angus having received intelligence of this design, collected and armed his friends; and, to gain a little time, sent his uncle, the famous Gavin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, to the archbishop of Glasgow, to propose an amicable conference: but that prelate, having put on armour under his pontifical robes, declared, that upon his conscience he could not consent; at

A. D. 1520.
Skirmishes
in Edin-
burgh.

¹⁵⁷ Drummond, p. 173. Hollingh. p. 306. Records of Parliament.
VOL. XI. H h the

A.D. 1520.

the same time smiting with violence on his breast, which made the plates of his armour rattle. "How now, my lord! methinks your conscience clatters," said the good bishop, and retired, having first reproached his grace for a conduct so unbecoming his character. The earl of Angus perceiving that he could not escape without fighting, drew up his small but brave and determined band, of about eighty gentlemen, on the High-street within the Netherbow-port. His enemies, who were much more numerous, and confident of victory, advanced to the charge: but as they advanced by the narrow lanes that lead from the Cow-gate to the High-street, they were incommoded by their numbers, and the most forward of them being killed as they emerged from these lanes, and others seeing this and attempting to turn back, threw the whole into confusion, and they fled on all hands, leaving about seventy of their number dead on the street. The earl of Arran, with his natural son sir James Hamilton, escaped over the marsh called the North-loch with great difficulty. The archbishop of Glasgow took shelter behind the high altar in the Blackfriars church, from whence he was dragged by his enraged enemies, and would have been killed if the bishop of Dunkeld had not interposed¹⁵.

Consequences of this skirmish.

The earl of Arran and his party were much dispirited by this defeat, and importuned the duke of Albany to return to Scotland. Their adversaries, elated with their victory, took down the heads of the late lord Hume and his brother from the gates

¹⁵ Buchan, p. 261. Drum, p. 174. Piscottie, p. 110.

of Edinburgh, and buried them with great funeral pomp August 21st A. D. 1520¹⁵⁹. They made an excursion to Linlithgow and Stirling, in hopes of taking the archbishop of Glasgow by surprise; but being disappointed, they returned to Edinburgh, and dismissed their followers.

A. D. 1520-

The regents and council of Scotland were so much engaged in their party quarrels, that they paid no attention to the truce with England, till it was on the point of expiring. Fortunately for them, king Henry and his favourite minister, cardinal Wolsey, were so much employed in their intrigues and negotiations with the emperor and the king of France, by both of whom they were courted, that they had no leisure or inclination to quarrel with the Scots: peace was therefore preserved between the two kingdoms through the whole of this year by short truces¹⁶⁰. This policy of making only short truces of a month or two, was adopted by the Scots, in consequence of directions from the duke of Albany, that if a war broke out between France and England, they might be at liberty to assist their ancient allies.

A. D. 1521,

Though the king of France had bound himself, when he made peace with England A. D. 1518, to detain the duke of Albany in France, and not suffer him to return to Scotland, he now determined to send him into that kingdom to support his party, and dispose the Scots to adhere to their ancient league with France, which had lately been renewed

Albany
arrives in
Scotland.

¹⁵⁹ Lefly, p. 395.

¹⁶⁰ See Rym. tom. xiii, p. 727, 728. 730. 734. 736. 744. 745.

A. D. 1521.

with great solemnity. The duke accordingly landed in the west of Scotland November 19th, after an absence of four years and five months, and was joyfully received by the great body of the nation ¹⁶¹.

The Eng-
lish party
broken.

The arrival of the duke of Albany made a great and sudden change in the state of parties in Scotland. He made his public entry into Edinburgh December 3d, accompanied by the queen dowager, (who had been reconciled to him, and corresponded with him in his absence,) by the lord chancellor Beaton, the earl of Huntley, and many of the prime nobility. He immediately turned out the magistrates of Edinburgh, who were of the Angusian or English party, and put his own friends in their place. He then called a parliament to meet at Edinburgh December 26th, and on the 9th of that month he caused the earl of Angus and all the chieftains of his party to be summoned at the market-cross of the metropolis, to appear before that parliament to answer to the accusations that were to be brought against them. A compromise was made, (by the interposition, it is said, of the queen,) by which the earl of Angus, and his brother William prior of Coldingham, were allowed to go into voluntary exile in France. Their uncle Gavin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, went to London, and the rest of their partisans retired into England. Thus the English party, which had lately been triumphant, was broken and dispersed ¹⁶². Henry VIII. was greatly offended at the return of the duke of Albany, and his severe proceedings; but he was still

¹⁶¹ Lefly, p. 396.¹⁶² Ibid.

more provoked at the queen his sister, for her joining the duke's party. The bishop of Dun is said to have inflamed his resentment both against his sister and the duke.

A. D. 1521.

The duke of Albany in the beginning of this year applied to the court of England for a prolongation of the last truce, which was to expire at Candlemas. But Henry VIII. was too much irritated at the duke's return to Scotland to comply with that requisition: on the contrary, he sent a very angry letter, dated January 14th A. D. 1522, to the parliament of Scotland then sitting, declaring, that if they did not immediately divest the duke of Albany of the government, and compel him to leave the kingdom, he and his confederates would make war upon them, and do them all the mischief in their power. The reasons he assigned for this hostile declaration were these:—his anxiety for the safety of his nephew their young king; the danger to which that prince was exposed, while the next heir to his crown was his guardian; that the duke had committed the custody of the king to a foreigner of little reputation; that his sister the queen dowager was prosecuting a divorce from her lawful husband, in order to a marriage with the duke, which would involve her in perdition, and expose her son to great danger; that the duke had left France, though that king had solemnly engaged to detain him there; and that he had come into Scotland with a design to kindle war between the two kingdoms¹⁶³.

A. D. 1522.
King
Henry's
letter to
the Scots
parlia-
ment.

¹⁶³ Rym. tom. xiii. p. 761.

A.D. 1522.

Answer.

To this threatening letter the parliament returned a very spirited and sensible answer, dated February 9th. They express great surprise that so wise a prince gave so much credit to the false and improbable calumnies of traitors, and that he protected and encouraged all the rebels against their king his nephew, to whom he professed so much love. They declared that the duke of Albany had never interfered with the custody of their king's person, but had left that entirely to the queen his mother, his council, and his parliament, who had committed it to four of the most aged, wise, and honourable noblemen of the kingdom; that he must have a very mean opinion of their virtue, honour, and loyalty, if he did not believe that they were at least as anxious as any other persons could be for the preservation of their native sovereign. They assure his majesty, that the report of an intended marriage between the queen and the duke of Albany was an infamous and absurd calumny, and that they firmly believed that neither of the parties had ever entertained a thought of such a marriage. What private promise he had obtained from the king of France about detaining the duke of Albany abroad, they did not pretend to know; but if he had really possessed all that love to their king his nephew, and all that good-will to them he had often professed, he would have importuned the king of France to send him into Scotland, to put an end to their internal broils and miseries, with which he was not unacquainted. They earnestly intreat him to withdraw his protection and favour from the bishop of Dunkeld,

A. D. 1522

Dunkeld, and the other rebels against their king; without which there could be no solid peace between the two kingdoms. They conclude with declaring, that though they wished for peace, they were fully determined to take either peace or war, as it should please God to send, rather than consent to do so great an injury to their king and country, so great a dishonour to themselves, and so great a wrong to the lord governor, as to remove him from his office at the request of his grace, or of any other prince; and if his grace made war upon them on that account, they would trust in God and the justice of their cause, and defend their king and country, as their ancestors had often done before them¹⁶⁴. Henry wrote letters in the same strain, containing similar threats and accusations, and received similar answers of denial and defiance¹⁶⁵. As a last effort to intimidate the Scots, Henry commanded the lord Dacres to pass the borders with five hundred men at arms, and publish a proclamation, That if the Scots did not accept of the terms proposed by the king of England before the first of March, he would make war upon them with all his power. This was accordingly done, but without effect¹⁶⁶.

Both nations now prepared for war, which appeared to be unavoidable. Henry availed himself of his superior force by sea, and sent seven great ships into the Forth in April; but the coasts were so well guarded that they made little or no impres-

Preparations for war.

¹⁶⁴ Rym. tom. xiii. p. 761—763.

¹⁶⁵ Herbert, p. 51.

¹⁶⁶ Stowe, p. 515.

A.D. 1532.



sion, though they created an alarm, and diverted the Scots from attacking the English on the borders. In the beginning of July all the French and Scots were banished out of England, and their goods confiscated¹⁶⁷. To raise a formidable army, all the men between sixteen and sixty in the counties of Shrewsbury, Nottingham, Derby, York, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancaster, Chester, and Durham, were commanded to be ready to march against their ancient enemies the Scots, who, it was said, intended to invade England in September; and the earl of Shrewsbury was appointed July 30th lord lieutenant of the north, and general of the army¹⁶⁸.

Parliament.

In the mean time the regent of Scotland was not idle. He called a parliament that met at Edinburgh July 22d, in which it was unanimously agreed to raise an army to defend the kingdom against their old enemies the English. To encourage persons of all ranks to fight bravely in defence of their country, it was enacted, That the heirs of all the vassals of the crown, the regent, the prelates, and barons, who fell in battle, should have their wardships, marriages, and reliefs, free; and that the wives and children of yeomen and farmers who were slain, should enjoy their tenements for five years at the former rent¹⁶⁹. When the parliament broke up, the regent and chieftains made haste to collect their followers.

¹⁶⁷ Lesly, p. 399.

¹⁶⁸ Rym., p. 772—774.

¹⁶⁹ Black Acts James V. tom. xii.

Before the Scots army was formed, the earl of Shrewsbury, with the readiest of his troops, made an incursion into Scotland, and burnt one half, and plundered the other half of the town of Kelfo: but on the approach of the men of Tiviotdale and the Merse, the English retired with precipitation.

A.D. 1522.

Incursion.

The duke of Albany marched at the head of a numerous army in the beginning of September, and encamped on the banks of the river Esk, within a few miles of Carlisle: but when he proposed to pass that river and invade England, the most powerful chieftains in his army refused to follow him; and it was with some difficulty he prevailed upon them to remain in their camp. The memory of the fatal battle of Flodden was still fresh in their minds; they knew that the present war was undertaken solely to make a diversion in favour of the French, and thought it sufficient for that purpose to detain the forces of the north of England at home to defend their country. When things were in this situation, the queen of Scotland interposed, and by her mediation a truce was concluded between the regent and lord Dacres, warden of the English borders, for fourteen days; in which time commissioners were to be sent to the court of England, to negotiate a peace, or longer truce. They were accordingly sent in October; but their negotiations were unsuccessful, because they insisted on the French being included in the peace or truce¹⁷⁰.

Expedition.

¹⁷⁰ Lelly, p. 405. Drum, p. 179.

A. D. 1522.

Albany
goes to
France.

The duke of Albany was much chagrined at the opposition of the Scots nobility to his intended invasion of England. He was now convinced that his authority as regent was not sufficient to engage them to make a vigorous attempt upon England in the minority of their king, unless he could procure a considerable body of auxiliaries to encourage and assist them. In hopes of procuring these auxiliaries, he set sail for France in the end of October, promising to return by the first of August in the following year¹⁷¹.

A. D. 1523.
Hostilities.

Hostilities were recommenced on the borders in the spring, and continued through the summer of this year, by mutual depredations and incursions, which did much mischief to the wretched inhabitants of those parts, but determined nothing. In one of these incursions, Thomas earl of Surry, who commanded in the north, took and burnt the town of Jedburgh September 24th, and demolished the magnificent monastery of that place¹⁷².

Albany
returns.

The duke of Albany having obtained some troops from the king of France, prepared to return with them into Scotland by the time appointed. But he was prevented by an English fleet fitted out to intercept him. On this occasion the duke acted with great prudence, and deceived his enemies. He removed his troops from the sea-coast, and directed his ships to separate, and put into different ports, at no great distance from one another. The English admiral, sir William Fitz-Williams, seeing no fleet in any of the French harbours, and no ap-

¹⁷¹ Lefly, p. 406. Buchan. p. 263.¹⁷² Ibid.

A. D. 1523.

pearance of an embarkation, left his station about the middle of August, and returned into port. The duke then collected his ships, and embarked his troops with great expedition at Brest; sailed from thence on the 21st, and arrived in the west of Scotland on the 24th of September, with a fleet of about fifty sail, three thousand infantry, and one thousand men at arms¹⁷².

Expedition.

The regent having brought his fleet into the Clyde, and landed his troops, called a convention of the estates. In his absence the English party had increased, and several of the lords and barons thinking it imprudent to wage perpetual war with a too powerful neighbour, at the instigation of a distant ally, wished for a peace with England. But the duke, by his authority, his speeches, promises, and other arts, prevailed upon the convention to resolve to raise an army and continue the war. The army rendezvoused in Douglassdale, and passed the Tweed October 20th, by the bridge of Milrofs, with a design to penetrate into England by the middle-marches. But here again the regent met with an unexpected check; some of the most powerful chieftains positively declared against an offensive war, and refused to enter England; which obliged him, with great reluctance, to repass the Tweed, and march down the north banks of that river to Coldstream, nearly opposite to the castle of Werk. That castle, now entirely demolished, was then in perfect repair and very strong, as we are told by George Buchannan, the famous poet and

¹⁷² Drummond, p. 180. Buchan. p. 263.

historian,

A.D. 1523.

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historian, who was present at this siege. The duke sent four thousand French and Scots, with a train of battering cannon, over the Tweed, to besiege this castle, which consisted of a lofty tower or donjon, an inner inclosure, surrounded by a very thick wall and double ditch; and an outer inclosure much larger, surrounded also with a strong wall and ditch. The besiegers soon got possession of the outer inclosure; and a practicable breach being made in the inner wall, they gave an assault, but were repulsed. Heavy rains falling at the same time, they raised the siege and returned with their artillery, for fear of being cut off from the main army by the swelling of the river. The duke, convinced that he could do nothing of importance with an army of which he had not the command, decamped November 29th, and marching to Lauder, dismissed his troops. The earl of Surry, who had orders to remain on the defensive, also disbanded his army of forty thousand, and hostilities ceased for some time¹⁷⁴. Though Scotland reaped neither honour nor profit from this expedition, it was of great advantage to France, by detaining so many forces in England.

A.D. 1524.

Albany
leaves
Scotland.

The duke of Albany perceiving that his own power and the power of the French party were declining, and the English party increasing, proposed to go to France, with a design, it is probable, to procure a greater reinforcement of troops, and promised to return before the first of September. He resided some time with the king at Stirling, and gave him such advice and instructions as a youth in his thirteenth year was capable of com-

¹⁷⁴ Buchan, p. 265.

prehending.

prehending. He directed the council, to whom he committed the management of affairs in his absence, to keep the king at Stirling, and not to make any peace or truce with the English before his return. Attended by a splendid retinue of the nobility, he proceeded to the Clyde, where his fleet waited for him, and sailed for France May 19th, from whence he never returned again to Scotland⁵⁷⁵. He was a prince of great abilities and great virtues; equally brave and prudent; a lover of order and justice; quick and decisive in his resolutions; and possessed great command of temper in the most trying situations. Having no children of his own, he was so far from entertaining any unfriendly designs against his royal pupil, (of which Henry VIII. pretended to suspect him,) that he viewed him with the eyes of a parent, and watched over him with the most tender care. But being a native of France, where he had great connections, possessions, and offices, his attachment to that country had too great an influence on his conduct in the government of Scotland, which rendered his administration difficult and unpleasant to himself, and disagreeable to a great party of the Scots, who wished for a peace with England.

The duke of Albany, before his departure, carried on a kind of pacific correspondence with cardinal Wolsey, to prevent any hostilities that might detain him, in which he succeeded. The cardinal encouraged the correspondence with another view, in which he miscarried. He endeavoured to per-

Corre-
spondence.

⁵⁷⁵ Buchan. p. 265. *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, p. 332. 335.

suade

A. D. 1514.

suade him to come into England, to hold a conference with him, in which, he said, they would not only settle a peace between the two kingdoms, but the general peace of Christendom. The cardinal's real design was, if the duke had come into England, to tempt him (with a promise of a large share of the kingdom of France, which they designed to dismember) to imitate the duke of Bourbon, who had revolted from his sovereign. But Albany well knew the cardinal had no intention to make a general peace, and was too wise to trust his person in England¹⁷⁶. The queen at the same time corresponded with her brother in the same pacific strain, which contributed also to prevent hostilities in the spring of this year.

Incur-
sions.

As no truce subsisted between the two nations, in the months of June and July hostilities were renewed by mutual incursions, to the equal advantage, or rather disadvantage, of both¹⁷⁷. To preserve the memory of these petty, but very destructive, wars, (which seem hardly worthy of a place in history,) may serve to impress our minds with a grateful sense of our superior security and happiness in the present times.

Angus re-
turns from
France.

The earl of Angus and his brother, weary of the inactive life of exiles, made their escape from France in July this year, came to the court of England, and were well received by the king and his favourite, cardinal Wolfsey, who resolved to employ them to support and strengthen the Eng-

¹⁷⁶ Otterborne and Welhamstede, f. 11. *Append.*

¹⁷⁷ Hall, f. 129.

lish party in Scotland, where the earl had great estates and many friends. But one difficulty occurred. They knew the animosity of the queen against the earl her husband, and were no strangers to the violence of her temper, and the rash courses of which she was capable, when provoked. They sent the earl and his brother into the north, to the care, or rather custody, of lord Dacres, with strict injunctions not to suffer them to enter Scotland till further orders¹⁷⁸.

In the mean time, the queen dowager was very active in strengthening her party, in order to obtain the regency, by the exclusion of the duke of Albany; and she was the more active to accomplish her design, that she heard her hated husband was arrived in England, and expected in Scotland. Accompanied by the earls of Arran, Argyle, Lennox, and some other lords and gentlemen, the queen conducted the young king, her son, July 29th, from Stirling to Edinburgh, and there, with the consent of the great men of her party, took upon her the administration. James Beaton, the chancellor and archbishop of St. Andrew's, a zealous friend to the duke of Albany and the French interest, opposed this irregular measure; insisting that nothing of that kind could be done till after the first of September, (when the regent had promised to return,) and by a regular parliament. For this opposition he was imprisoned, but soon after set at liberty¹⁷⁹. That no interruption might be given to these proceedings, so agreeable to the court of

The queen
assumes
the regency.

¹⁷⁸ Otterborne. Appendix. ¹⁷⁹ Ledy, p. 423. Buchan. p. 266.

A.D. 1524. England, hostilities were suspended in the months of August and September by two short truces.

**Angus re-
turns to
Scotland.**

As the earl of Arran had formerly been at the head of the French party, he was still suspected by Henry and his minister. They therefore sent the earl of Angus into Scotland, with instructions to endeavour to regain the favour of the queen his spouse, and to co-operate with the earl of Arran, if he continued steady in the English interest, but if he deviated from it, to oppose him; in which he was promised the most effectual support. The earl and his brother arrived in their native country in October, after a tedious exile, and were joyfully received by the numerous friends of their family. Their arrival soon produced another revolution.

**Parlia-
ment.**

The queen, to secure the power she had obtained, called a parliament, to meet November 16th at Edinburgh. Though the earl of Angus was in the country, he did not take his seat in this meeting, which consisted chiefly of the queen's party. By their second act, they deprived the duke of Albany of his two high offices, of regent of the kingdom and tutor to the king, because he had not returned with succours from France before the first of September, as he had promised; and ordered a respectful letter to be written to the king of France, containing their reasons for this proceeding¹⁸⁰. By the same act, they declared the king (then in the fourteenth year of his age) capable of governing his dominions, and appointed a council to advise and assist him in the administration. This secret or

¹⁸⁰ *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, tom. i. p. 351—356.

A. D. 1524

cabinet council was composed of the archbishop of St. Andrews, the bishop of Aberdeen, the earl of Arran and the earl of Argyle, who were to superintend all negotiations with foreign princes and states, the coining of money, and the administration of justice; but were to do nothing without the queen's consent¹⁸¹. The guardianship of the king's person was committed to the queen-mother, who, with the advice of the privy council, was to make choice of wise and virtuous men to instruct him in learning and good manners¹⁸². On November 18th the parliament appointed Robert bishop of Dunkeld, Gilbert earl of Cassilis, and Alexander abbot of Cambuskenneth, ambassadors to the court of England, to negotiate a peace or truce, and a marriage of their young king and the princess Mary, the only child of Henry VIII¹⁸³. This parliament, having gratified the queen in all her wishes, was prorogued to February 25th, A. D. 1525.

The three ambassadors, in their way to London, made a truce, November 29th, for two months, with Thomas lord Dacres, warden general of the English marches¹⁸⁴. On their arrival in London, and entering upon the negotiation of a marriage between their king and the princess of England, Henry VIII. proposed the two following conditions: 1. That the Scots should dissolve their league with France, and make a similar league with England. 2. That the king of Scots should reside

A. D. 1525.
Embassy
to Eng-
land.¹⁸¹ Regist. Parliam. vol. vi. Register Office, Edinburgh.¹⁸² Ibid. ¹⁸³ Rym. tom. xiv. p. 27.¹⁸⁴ Ibid. p. 28.

A. D. 1525.

in the court of England till after the marriage was consummated. But these were unexpected conditions, concerning which they had no instructions. The truce was therefore prolonged to the 28th of March, to give them an opportunity of consulting their constituents; and the earl of Cassilis returned to Scotland for that purpose²⁸⁵.

Parliament.

When the time to which the parliament had been prorogued approached, the political hemisphere, which had been so serene and calm at the former meeting, began to be overcast, and threatened a storm. Some discontents and jealousies prevailed among the noblemen of the queen's party; and the earl of Angus, her hated husband, came to Edinburgh, attended by a numerous train of his friends and followers. Alarmed at these appearances, he published a proclamation, prohibiting the parliament to meet in the city, and appointing it to meet in the castle of Edinburgh, where the king resided. The earl of Angus and several other noblemen strongly and justly reprobated this measure, as inconsistent with the safety of the members and the freedom of debate; and to prevent its being put in execution, they blockaded the castle with two thousand armed men, who suffered no provisions to be introduced, except for the king's table. The earl of Arran, who commanded in the castle, threatened to fire upon the city, which threw the inhabitants into great consternation. But when things were in this situation, some of the most respectable prelates interposed, and brought about

²⁸⁵ Rym. tom. xiv. p. 30. Lefly, p. 414.

an accommodation. The king was conducted to Holyrood-house, and the parliament was opened, with the usual parade, in the usual place¹⁸⁶. A. D. 1525.

Though hostilities were thus prevented, the animosity of the parties was not extinguished. The debates on chusing the lords of the articles were violent, and many protests were taken on both sides. One of the chief transactions of this session was, the choice of new council, which consisted of the archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, the bishops of Aberdeen and Dumblane, the earls of Angus, Arran, Argyle, and Lennox. But this council was to transact nothing of importance without the consent of the queen. The late blockade of the castle was declared to have been for the good of the king and kingdom, for which no person should ever be called in question. The summons that had been issued against the earls of Angus and Lennox, for entering the city of Edinburgh in the night in arms, was recalled and annulled. The new council was authorised to name a committee to have the care of the king's person, with power to conduct him from one place to another, but not to carry him out of the kingdom, under the pain of high treason; the queen to be at the head of this committee, and to have free access to her son at all times¹⁸⁷. In a word, parties seem to have been nearly equal at this meeting; or if the earl of Angus had the advantage, he was unwilling to push it too far: for though the queen's power was diminished, she was still treated with great respect.

¹⁸⁶ Ledg, p. 416. Regist. Parl. vol. vi.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

A. D. 1525.

The earl of Caillis was instructed to consent to the dissolution of the league with France, if Henry dissolved his alliance with the emperor, to whom the princess Mary had been contracted about three years before, but not to consent to the king's going out of his kingdom. Henry promised to treat with the emperor on the subject. But the news of the battle of Pavia, in which the French king was taken prisoner, had reached the court of England, and so entirely engaged the attention of Henry and his minister, that no further progress was made with the Scots ambassadors, who, despairing of success, returned home¹⁸⁸.

The
queen's
complaint.

What efforts the earl of Angus made to gain the affections of his royal spouse, we are not informed; but it is certain they were ineffectual. Her animosity against him became daily more violent, and she complained to a parliament that met at Edinburgh July 11th, A. D. 1525, that though she had commenced a process against her husband the earl of Angus for a divorce, he still continued to uplift her rents and dispose of her estates, and craved redress. To this complaint the earl replied, that he was willing to give the queen his wife every manner of assurance of her personal safety, and every sort of satisfaction, but could not relinquish the rights of a husband, or consent to her separation from him¹⁸⁹. It doth not appear that the queen obtained any redress; and it seems probable, that it was on this occasion she left her son at Edinburgh, and retired to Stirling in discontent.

¹⁸⁸ Lesly, p. 416.¹⁸⁹ Register of Parl. vol. vi.

In the same parliament, July 17th, it was appointed that the lords of the secret council should perform their duty in the following manner: That one of the prelates and one of the earls of that council, assisted by three or four members of the ordinary council, should attend the court, and administer the government for three months, and then be succeeded by another prelate and another earl, with the like number of assistants for the next three months, and so in regular succession. By the same act the archbishop of Glasgow and the earl of Angus, and in company with them the bishop of Orkney, the earl of Morton, the abbot of Holyrood-house, the abbot of Arbroath, and the lord Seaton, were appointed to remain with the king, and to administer the government from July 17th to November 1st; and during that time they were to have the custody of the king's most noble person¹⁹⁰. By another act of the same parliament, July 31st, it was declared, that the transactions of the secret council, without the queen's concurrence, should be valid; and that the power conferred on her by the former parliament should be recalled, unless she returned within twenty days, and used the counsel of the lords¹⁹¹. This is a sufficient proof that the queen had retired from court some time before this; that her absence retarded business, and was disapproved by parliament.

When the earl of Angus and his co-adjutors were regularly invested with authority, and the custody of the king's person, by parliament, they entered

¹⁹⁰ Register of Parl. vol. vi.¹⁹¹ Ibid.

A. D. 1525

upon the administration; and there can be no doubt that they employed their power for their own and their friends advancement. The other counsellors had retired, and the queen's consent to their transactions was no longer necessary. The earl of Angus himself was made chancellor, and warden of the east and middle marches; his uncle, Archibald Douglas of Killspendy, was made treasurer; his brother, sir George, was made lord chamberlain; and his other brother, William, prior of Coldingham, it is said, was made abbot of Holyrood-house¹⁹². They did not, however, neglect the interests of the public. A parliament was held in September, in which a commission was given by the king and three estates to the earl of Angus, George abbot of Holy-rood-house, and three others, to meet with the commissioners of the king of England, for confirming the peace between the two kingdoms. The commissioners of both nations met at Berwick 10th October, and concluded a truce for three years; and agreed to meet again at the same place 12th January, A. D. 1526, to exchange ratifications of the treaty¹⁹³.

The earl of Angus retains the administration.

The time now approached when the earl of Angus and his friends should resign their power to those who had been appointed by parliament to succeed them: but they discovered no disposition to

¹⁹² This last, though affirmed by all our historians, could not be true; because it appears from an authentic record, that George Creighton was abbot of Holyrood-house on the 28th September this year. Much less could this be the cause of the queen's retiring to Stirling. Rym. tom. xiv. p. 91.

¹⁹³ Rym, p. 114.

A. D. 1525

comply with that appointment. They found themselves in possession of the person and authority of their king, and resolved to retain them as long as possible. When this resolution became apparent, it not only inflamed the resentment of the queen and their other enemies, but it offended the other members of the secret council and their friends, who desired and expected to enjoy the honours and emoluments of government in their turns. The archbishop of St. Andrews, the earls of Arran, Argyle, and other discontented nobles, held a meeting in the castle of Stirling, where the queen resided, and from thence sent a message to the earl of Angus at Edinburgh, accusing him of detaining the person of the king, and retaining the administration after his time was expired, and requiring him to resign them to those who had been appointed by parliament to succeed to that charge. To this message the earl of Angus returned no answer: but he prevailed with the king to declare to the messenger, that the earl had treated him so well, that he chose to remain with him; and charged him to communicate that resolution to the queen his mother, and the nobles who had sent him¹⁹⁴.

These were not the real sentiments of the young monarch; for though the earl of Angus had indulged him in the gratification of all his youthful passions to gain his favour, he plainly perceived that he was a prisoner, and earnestly desired to be set at liberty; and he found means to communicate

The king wishes to be set at liberty.

¹⁹⁴ Leffy, p. 417.

A. D. 1525. this desire to the queen and the nobles at Stirling, and conjured them to attempt his deliverance ¹⁹⁵.

A. D. 1526.
Attempt
to deliver
the king.

As soon as the lords received this intimation of the king's desire, they raised their followers, and formed an army, with which they marched to Linlithgow. The earl of Angus, well informed of all their motions, had collected all his friends and followers, and, with the king in his company, marched from Edinburgh January 12th, to meet and give them battle. But when he approached Linlithgow, the leaders of the other army, either thinking themselves too weak, or unwilling to attack the king in person, and expose him to the danger of an action, retired to Stirling without fighting. They soon after dismissed their followers, and returned to their own estates ¹⁹⁶.

Angus
fixed,

This feeble unsuccessful attempt fixed Angus more firmly in his seat. The queen was so much afraid of falling into his hands, that she fled into the north with the earl of Moray. The earls of Arran, Argyle, and the other discontented nobles, consulted their safety, by living in great privacy, and keeping at a distance from court ¹⁹⁷. The king of England took no umbrage at his proceedings, but rather countenanced them; and the ratifications of the treaty of three years truce were exchanged March 15th at Berwick ¹⁹⁸.

Battle of
Melroth.

Though the earl of Lennox remained at court at the earnest desire of the king, and seemed to be sincerely attached to the earl of Angus, he was se-

¹⁹⁵ Lefly, p. 417.

¹⁹⁷ Lefly, p. 418.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid. p. 418. Rym. p. 114.

¹⁹⁸ Rym. p. 128.

cretly offended at his retaining the government, and thereby preventing him from enjoying it in his turn. The king had made him his confident, and communicated to him his hatred of Angus and the Douglasses, and his ardent desire to be delivered from them; and they formed a scheme for that purpose. The late truce had not put an end to the depredations on the borders, which were privately promoted by the laird of Buckleugh at the instigation of Lennox, in order to draw Angus with the king into those parts, where Buckleugh was very powerful, and was to make an attempt to set the king at liberty. Angus, ignorant of this scheme, went, with the king in his company, and attended by a little army of his friends and followers, July 24th, to Jedburgh, where he was joined by the Humes and by the Kers of Cessford and Farmherst. Here he remained some days, punishing some of the most guilty of the marauders, and taking securities from others for their future good behaviour. As he was returning, July 29th, he discovered a great body of horsemen in order of battle, directly in his way to the bridge over the Tweed at Melross. This hostile appearance surprised the earl of Angus, but was expected by the king and Lennox, who secretly rejoiced at the sight. A messenger was sent to demand, in the king's name, who they were, and why they appeared there in that warlike posture? Their leader answered, that he was the laird of Buckleugh, and that he came with a thousand of his friends and followers to wait upon his sovereign, and to shew him how many brave men

A. D. 1516.

he had always ready to serve him. On receiving this answer a herald was sent as from the king, to command him to depart, and dismiss his followers, under the pain of being treated as a traitor. Buckleugh replied, that he knew the king's mind, and would not retire. Angus having committed the care of the king's person to the earl of Lennox, lord Maxwell, his brother sir George Douglas, &c. advanced to meet his enemies, whom he immediately engaged. The conflict was for some time fierce and doubtful. But the Humes and Kers, who had taken their leave of the king a little before, hearing the noise, returned full speed and obtained the victory. The laird of Buckleugh was wounded, eighty of his men killed, and the rest put to flight. Angus lost almost an equal number of men; and the laird of Cessford, pursuing too eagerly, was slain by one of Buckleugh's men, which gave rise to a long and deadly feud between the Kers and Scots¹⁹⁹. After this action Angus marched back to Jedburgh, where he rested some days, and then returned with the king to Edinburgh.

The queen
divorced.

The queen and the archbishop of St. Andrews were equally incensed against the earl of Angus: the former earnestly desired to have her marriage with him dissolved, and the latter encouraged her to bring an action against him for that purpose in his court. This was accordingly done, and the queen applied to the prelate for a divorce from her husband; because, as she alleged, he was married to a daughter of the earl of Traquair at the time of

¹⁹⁹ Lefly, p. 420.

his marriage with her. The earl, who had been prompted to his courtship of the queen rather by ambition than by love, made no opposition, and the archbishop pronounced the sentence of divorce. As soon as this sentence was confirmed by the pope, the queen married Henry Stewart, a brother of lord Avandale. Her brother Henry VIII. was so much offended with this divorce and marriage of his sister, that he never after paid her much regard ²⁰⁰.

A. D. 1526.

John Stewart earl of Lennox was an accomplished nobleman, remarkably handsome in his person, of engaging manners, and much beloved by the young king, who delighted in his company, and made him his confidant. This excited suspicion and jealousy in the mind of Angus, which he could not conceal. Lennox perceiving that he was suspected, resolved to retire from court, and attempt to deliver the king by force, which he had failed to accomplish by art. To this he was urged by the king, who furnished him with letters to several noblemen who were disaffected to the earl of Angus ²⁰¹. We know not the precise time when Lennox left the court; it was, we are told, not many months after the king's return from Jedburgh to Edinburgh in August 1526, and therefore most probable in the beginning of the year 1527.

A. D. 1527.
Lennox
retires
from
court.

After the departure of Lennox, Angus suspected, or was informed, that he intended to rescue the king out of his hands, and endeavoured to strengthen his

Angus
and Arran
unite.

²⁰⁰ Lessy, p. 419.

²⁰¹ Ibid. p. 421.

party,

A. D. 1527.

party, that he might be able to repel the dreaded storm. With this view he applied to the earl of Arran, who he knew had a misunderstanding with Lennox, though he was his nearest relation. Arran had been married first to a sister of lord Hume, by whom he had no children, and from whom he was divorced on a very frivolous pretence. He was then married to a niece of James Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews, by whom he had children. Lennox, who was his sister's son, he was told, intended to call in question, at a proper season, the legality of his divorce from his first wife, and the legitimacy of his children by his second wife, in which, if he succeeded, he would become heir to the honours and estates of his family, and to his chance of succeeding to the crown. This had occasioned an estrangement between Arran and his nephew, which made him the more readily listen to the proposals of Angus, who engaged to admit him to a participation in the government; and the two powerful chieftains agreed to support one another with all their forces²⁰².

Battle of
Linlith-
gow
bridge.

Soon after the departure of Lennox from court, an assembly of the discontented nobles was held at Stirling, in which it was resolved to rescue the king, and wrest the government out of the hands of Angus by force of arms. They then separated, to prepare for executing this resolution, and agreed to rendezvous at the same place in August. Lennox having raised his own friends and vassals, and being joined by a thousand highlanders, and two

²⁰² Godscroft, p. 254.

thousand

thousand men under the earl of Cassilis and the lord Kilmares, marched to Stirling, where he met with so many forces from Fife, Perthshire, and other parts, as made an army of ten thousand men, with which he determined to attack the earl of Arran, who had taken post at Linlithgow, before he could be joined by the earl of Angus, who was still at Edinburgh. Arran, however, either suspecting, or having received intelligence of this design, sent an express to Angus to join him immediately. Lennox marched from Stirling early in the morning September 3d; but when he approached Linlithgow, he found that the enemy had taken possession of the bridge over the Avon, about a mile to the west of that town, which obliged him to make a circuit, and pass the river at Emanuel Nunnery, about a mile above the bridge. The eastern banks of the Avon at this place are very steep, and the troops, fatigued with their long march, were put out of breath by climbing them, when they were attacked by the enemy advantageously posted on the rising grounds: they fought, however, with great bravery for some time, when a cry arose that the Douglasses were in sight, with which many were intimidated and began to fly. Angus had marched from Edinburgh the same morning, but was retarded by the king, who pretended sickness, and made various delays; but on hearing the report of cannons, he pushed forward with the van of his army at full speed, leaving the king to the custody of his brother sir George Douglas. When he reached the field of battle, he saw the enemy flying,

A.D. 1527.

flying, and found the earl of Arran weeping over the body of his nephew the earl of Lennox, who had been taken prisoner and butchered in cold blood by the bastard of Hamilton. Angus was so much affected at the sight, that he could not refrain from tears; but when the king heard of the fate of his favourite, he was still more deeply affected, and mourned for him long and bitterly ²⁰³.

Queen and
archbishop
fly.

The two victorious earls, having rested and refreshed their forces a few days at Linlithgow, marched to Stirling, and from thence to Fife; compelling all the barons and gentlemen who had been in the late insurrection, to compound for their delinquency by their lands or money, or to join their party to save their lives. The queen and the archbishop of St. Andrews, who were most obnoxious, fled in disguise, and concealed themselves so effectually, that they could not be discovered: the archbishop, in the garb of a shepherd, tended a flock of sheep several months on Bogrionneumuir ²⁰⁴.

Anarchy.

Scotland was at this time a scene of the most deplorable anarchy and confusion. The magistrates in many places had no authority, and where they had any, they employed it as an instrument of wreaking their vengeance on those of the opposite party. The earl of Cassilis, a nobleman of great honour and bravery, after his escape from the battle of Linlithgow, was surprised and slain by the sheriff of Ayrshire, at the instigation of the bastard Hamilton, because he refused to become a partisan of

²⁰³ Lesly, p. 422. Drummond, p. 290. ²⁰⁴ Pitcottie, p. 139.

the Hamiltons. Deadly feuds between the Lesleys and Forbeses in the north, and among the Mackintoshes in the Highlands, were prosecuted with the most barbarous and destructive cruelty²⁰⁵. The earl of Moray having received a commission from the king, raised an army, defeated the Mackintoshes, and took many of them prisoners, of whom he hanged no fewer than two hundred, who discovered a degree of fidelity to their leader, which would have done great honour to better men in a better cause. Each of them was offered his life and liberty, if he would discover the lurking-place of his chieftain Hector Mackintosh; but they all rejected the offer, and chose rather to die than to betray the chief²⁰⁶. The earl of Angus, after his return from Fife, marched with the king and an army of six thousand men into Liddesdale, (where the greatest disorders prevailed,) obliged the borderers to make their submissions, hanged twelve of the most guilty, and took hostages for the good behaviour of the rest²⁰⁷.

A.D. 1527.

The archbishop of St. Andrews, weary of leading the life of a lurking fugitive, and seeing no immediate prospect of a revolution in his favour, found means to convey to sir George Douglas proposals for an accommodation with his brother the earl of Angus, accompanied with a promise to himself of certain advantageous leases of lands and tithes. The proposal was joyfully received, and the accommodation was soon concluded. The archbishop returned to his castle of St. Andrews, and to the

A.D. 1528.
Tranquil-
lity restor-
ed.²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 423.²⁰⁶ *Ibid.* p. 424.²⁰⁷ *Ibid.* p. 426.

possession

A. D. 1513.

possession of all his benefices; the public tranquillity seemed to be completely restored, and the authority of the Douglasses firmly established²⁰⁸: for the reconciliation and submission of the archbishop were soon followed by that of the queen, her husband Henry Stewart, and his brother James lord Avondale, who surrendered the castle of Edinburgh, March 14th, (which they had taken by surprise,) and were pardoned at the intercession of the queen²⁰⁹. After the surrender of the castle of Edinburgh, the court removed to Falkland, where the king, indulged in the gratification of all his youthful passions, appeared to be perfectly pleased with his situation.

The
king's
escape
from
Falkland.

These fair appearances of tranquillity and submission seem to have put the Douglasses off their guard. The earl of Angus having stayed about a month at Falkland, returned to the south (where he had great estates) to attend to his private affairs. The archbishop of St. Andrews invited sir George Douglas to pass some days with him in that city at Easter, and to receive the promised leases. Archibald Douglas, lord treasurer, went at the same time to Dundee on business, or, as some say, to visit a lady, leaving the king to the care of the captain of the guard of a hundred men, which constantly attended him, and a few inferior officers of the court. The king, encouraged by the absence of his three most watchful keepers, resolved to attempt an escape. He directed the laird of Fairnee, the chamberlain of Fife, and Forester of Falkland, to

²⁰⁸ Lelley, p. 427.²⁰⁹ Ibid.

send messages to all the neighbouring gentlemen to attend the king next morning at a royal hunt. He supped sooner than usual; and during supper he entertained the captain of the guard with discourse about the next day's diversion, recommending to him to see all the household early to rest; and to awake him next morning at four o'clock; he then retired to his bed-chamber, and went to bed: but as soon as all was quiet he arose, and putting on the livery of a yeoman of the stable, silently slipped out of the palace, and passed the guard undiscovered: when he came to the stable he found a groom and page (who were in the secret) waiting with horses ready saddled: they mounted, rode full speed to Stirling, and were received into the castle which belonged to the queen, and had been neglected by the Douglasses²¹⁰. The news of the king's escape flew like lightning; the barons and gentlemen of the neighbourhood made haste to attend him with their followers; expresses were sent to those at a distance, and he soon found himself surrounded by such a body of men as put him out of danger.

In the mean time all was dismay and confusion at Falkland. When the captain of the guard entered the king's chamber in the morning to awake him, and perceived it empty, he was alarmed. Search and inquiry were made every where, but the king could not be found, nor any intelligence procured: some surmised that he was gone to Bambergh to visit a certain lady; but the earl of Rothes arriving from thence to attend the hunt, assured

Attempt
to retake
the king.

²¹⁰ Drummond, p. 203. Pitcottie, p. 140, 141.

A. D. 1528.



them that he was not there. Expresses were dispatched to the lord treasurer at Dundee, to the chamberlain at St. Andrews, and to the earl of Angus in Lothian, to acquaint them with what had happened. The two former reached Falkland the same forenoon, and the earl the next morning, when it was known that the king had escaped to Stirling. A council was held, in which it was resolved to raise an army, and attempt to recover by force the prize they had lost. But on this occasion the Douglasses found what almost all fallen ministers have found, that they had fewer real friends and more secret enemies than they imagined. Having at length collected a body of their friends and followers at Edinburgh, they marched towards Stirling, but were met by a herald, who commanded them, in the king's name, not to come within ten miles of the court, under the pain of being proclaimed traitors. Some of the leaders were for pushing forward and risking a battle; but this appeared to the earl of Angus and others too dangerous: they therefore changed their resolution, and posted themselves at Linlithgow in the way between Stirling and Edinburgh²¹¹.

Council.

The king held a council July 2d, at which the archbishop of St. Andrews, seven earls, nine lords, and many gentlemen, were present, to whom he complained of the ignominious restraint in which he had been held by the earl of Angus and his friends for almost three years, and discovered that his resentment against them was very strong. By

²¹¹ Lely, p. 428.

the advice of this council a proclamation was issued, and sent by a herald to Linlithgow, commanding the earl of Angus to confine himself to the north of the river Spey, his brother sir George and his uncle Archibald to enter themselves prisoners in the castle of Edinburgh, and the rest of their army to disperse. But with this command they did not comply ¹¹².

A. D. 1528.

The king being now in the eighteenth year of his age, and at full liberty, summoned a parliament to meet at Edinburgh September 6th, to call those to account who had detained his person, usurped his authority, and were still in arms against him. Soon after, the earl of Angus marched back from Linlithgow to Edinburgh, of which he hoped to get possession, and to prevent the meeting of a parliament, from which he had every thing to fear. But he was prevented by the lord Maxwell and the laird of Cochinvare; and the king arriving at the head of two thousand men, he retired August 25th to his castle of Tantallon ¹¹³.

Angus repulsed.

The parliament met at the appointed time, at which the earl of Angus, his brother and uncle, though they had been summoned, did not appear; but John Bannantine, who was a member, and one of their retainers, had the courage to protest, that nothing done against them in that parliament should be of any avail, because they could not attend it without being guilty of treason, as the proclamation commanding them not to come within ten miles of

Angus, &c. forfeited.

¹¹² Lefly, p. 448. Buchan. lib. xiv. p. 270. Pitcottie, p. 142.

¹¹³ Idem, *ibid*.

A. D. 1528.

the court under the pain of treason had not been recalled. This protest was disregarded. The king declared with a solemn oath, that while he was detained by the Douglasses, he was daily in fear of death. This declaration made a deep impression on the minds of the members. The earl of Angus, his brother sir George Douglas, his uncle Archibald Douglas, with their most intimate friend Alexander Drummond of Carnock, were condemned as traitors, and their estates forfeited ²¹⁴.

Treaties.

The Douglasses were not dispirited by this severe sentence, but revenged themselves on the most active of their enemies by plundering their estates. They relied much on the powerful intercession of Henry VIII. for procuring their pardon; and if that proved unsuccessful, they were certain of an asylum in England. It appears from the narrative in a treaty concluded at Berwick December 12th A. D. 1522, between the commissioners of England and Scotland, " That the king of England
 " had diverse and syndry tymes addrested his maiestie
 " honourable letters to the right hie and excellent
 " his derrest Neve the king of Scottis, in the favour of the erle of Anguse, George Douglas his
 " brother, and Archibald Douglas his uncle, being
 " forfallit in Scotland upon lese majestie, to be re-
 " consiled to the favour, mercy, and grace, of the
 " said king of Scottis ²¹⁵." In an article of the same treaty it is stipulated, that if the king of England at any time received the earl of Angus, his

²¹⁴ Lesly, p. 428. Buchan. lib. xiv. p. 270; Pitfcottie, p. 144.

²¹⁵ Rym. Fœd. tom. xiv. p. 277.

brother,

A. D. 1528.

brother, his uncle, and their friends, into his dominions, it should be no breach of the peace, provided the earl surrendered his castle of Tantallon, and that he or his followers made no incursions into Scotland. The same commissioners, at the same place, December 14th, concluded a truce for five years between the two kingdoms; the articles of which were nearly the same with those of former truces ²¹⁶.

The resentment of king James against the Douglasses was still too strong to listen to any application in their favour: he was so far from this, that he marched from Edinburgh December 10th at the head of an army, and besieged their castle of Tantallon; but after lying about a month before it, and having lost many men and horses, he turned the siege into a blockade, and had recourse to negotiation. The governor, Simon Panango, a soldier of fortune, seeing no prospect of relief, surrendered the castle on honourable terms ²¹⁷.

Tantallon
surrender-
ed.

The Douglasses having lost their strongest fortress, perceived they could not long maintain their ground in Scotland; and being invited by Henry VIII. they retired into England with their principal followers, who chose to share their fortunes, or despaired of pardon. They were there most kindly received, and honourably entertained for many years; only Alexander Drummond of Carnock obtained a pardon and returned home ²¹⁸.

The Dou-
glasses re-
tire into
England.

²¹⁶ Rym. Fed. tom. xiv. p. 278—282.

²¹⁷ Godscroft, p. 259, &c.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

A.D. 1528.

The retreat of the Douglasses restored the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, which had been disturbed by their ambition. But great disorders still prevailed on the borders, which were encouraged by the chieftains in those parts, who paid little regard to the late truce. To give a check to these disorders, James called a convention of his nobility in May this year at Edinburgh, in which he presided in person, though he was only entered into his nineteenth year. William Cockburn of Henderland, and Adam Scott of Tuskelaw, commonly called the King of Thieves, two most notorious offenders, who had been guilty of many atrocious crimes, were condemned to death; the earl of Bothwell was banished; the lords Maxwell and Hume, with the lairds of Buckleugh, Cessford, Farneherst, Polwart, Johnstone, and several others, were committed to prison by this convention²¹⁹. Thus James gave an early specimen of his strict administration of justice, and spirited exertions for suppressing theft and robbery, for which he was afterwards so famous.

James, not contented with what he had done at the convention, engaged his nobles to attend him with their followers at a royal hunt; and he set out from Edinburgh June 2d, attended, it is said, by twelve thousand men. To conceal his real design, he hunted some days in the forest by the way, and then fell suddenly into Ewsdale and Eskdale, and seized many of the marauders of those parts by surprise, of whom he hanged no fewer than forty-eight,

²¹⁹ *Lesly*, p. 430.

Among these was the famous John Armstrong of Kilknocky, the boldest, most patriotic, and successful free-booter of those times. He was constantly attended by a troop of twenty or thirty stout men, well mounted and armed; he never robbed a Scotchman, but made most destructive incursions into England, and laid the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland under contribution. This audacious plunderer, proud of the injuries he had done to the English, and probably expecting to be rewarded for them, had the effrontery to appear before his sovereign with his myrmidons in rich and splendid dresses; but they soon found their error: they were seized, found guilty, and executed, though Kilknocky, who was very rich, made mighty offers to obtain a pardon. This spirited conduct of the young king had a very happy effect, and struck terror into the boldest offenders. He returned to Edinburgh July 28th, and set the imprisoned chieftains at liberty, when they had given hostages for their good behaviour ²²⁰.

Those periods of time are the most happy which afford the fewest materials for history, when a kingdom enjoys internal tranquillity and external peace, and the persons and properties of the people are secured by the steady impartial administration of justice. Such was the state of Scotland in the years 1530, 1531, and 1532, which reflects great honour on the memory of its youthful monarch.

Three
years of
peace.

²²⁰ Lesly, p. 433. Buchan. p. 272.

A. D. 1533.

A truce.

Several applications had been made to James by his uncle Henry VIII. for the restoration of the Douglasses without effect. These exiles, irritated at this inflexibility, excited some disturbances on the borders. But as both courts sincerely desired peace, a stop was soon put to these disturbances by a meeting of commissioners at Newcastle October 1st, who concluded a truce for one year ²²¹.

A. D. 1534.
Treaty of
peace.

Still further to confirm and prolong that peace between the two kingdoms, which was so beneficial to both, the two British monarchs appointed plenipotentiaries to meet and negotiate a perpetual or temporary peace. The commissioners for Scotland were, William Stewart, bishop of Aberdeen, and sir Adam Otterburn: those for England, sir Thomas Audley, chancellor; Thomas Cromwell, secretary; Edward Fox, almoner; John Trigonwell; and Richard Gwent. They met at London, and on May 11th concluded and signed a treaty of peace, to continue during the lives of the two kings, and a year after the death of him who died first. The day after, the same plenipotentiaries signed another treaty, containing only two articles; by the first the king of England engaged to surrender to the king of Scots, the fortress of Edrington near Berwick, with all its lands; by the second article it was agreed, that the king of England might entertain in his dominions Archibald late earl of Angus, George his brother, and Archibald his uncle; provided they made no hostile incursions into Scotland ²²².

²²¹ Rym. p. 480.²²² Ibid. p. 529—539.

A. D. 1534-
James re-
solves to
marry.

King James being now in the twenty-fourth year of his age, began to entertain serious thoughts of marriage, to which he had many inducements. He was the only surviving male of his family, and was far from being fond of the Hamiltons, who were next in the line of succession to the crown, and imprudently discovered very sanguine hopes, which gave him great offence. These hopes did not seem to be ill-founded. The king was much addicted to vague amours, and rashly exposed himself to danger in the prosecution of them, as well as in pursuing those desperate banditti, with which his kingdom was infested. He was also most earnestly importuned to marry by the queen his mother, and by his nobility. Impelled by such powerful motives, he began to look around him for a proper match. His reputation for courage and activity was now very high, his friendship was courted by the greatest princes; and he was in no danger of having his addresses rejected. Godescalco Erico, ambassador from the emperor Charles V. arrived in the court of Scotland in April this year, with the ensigns of the order of the Golden Fleece, and an offer to James of his choice of three princesses of the Imperial family, viz. Mary queen dowager of Hungary, the emperor's sister; Mary of Portugal, daughter of his sister Eleanora; and Mary of England. By these advances James very justly suspected that the emperor designed to draw him into his party against his ancient ally the king of France, and his uncle the king of England. He returned a polite answer, full of respect and gratitude

A. D. 1534.

tude to the emperor, but declined to accept any of the matches proposed. To render this refusal less offensive, he expressed a desire to espouse the princess Isabella of Denmark, the daughter of another of the emperor's sisters. But that princess was already contracted to the elector palatine, of which it is probable James was not ignorant ²²³.

Embassy
to France.

King James appears to have had an early and steady attachment to the French, and to their king Francis; with which, it is probable, his tutor, the duke of Albany had inspired him in his youth. When that duke renewed the ancient league between France and Scotland, A. D. 1517, he negotiated a contract of marriage between his pupil the king of Scots, then in his sixth year, and the eldest daughter of Francis, then an infant. That princess was dead; but James still retained an inclination to a match in the royal family of France. With that view he sent David Beaton, abbot of Arbroath, and the lord Erskine, to the court of France, to demand the princess Magdalene, the king's eldest daughter, for their sovereign. The ambassadors were well received, and no objections were made to the marriage, but that the princess was of a delicate frame, not likely to live long, or to have any children. Francis at the same time recommended Mary of Bourbon, daughter of Charles duke of Vendosme, as a proper consort for their king; and still further to testify his regard, he sent him the ensigns of the order of St. Michael ²²⁴.

²²³ Buchan. p. 274.

²²⁴ Lesly, p. 440.

A. D. 1534.
 Embassy
 from Eng-
 land,

Henry VIII. was at no less pains to conciliate the affections and secure the friendship of his nephew the king of Scots, than the emperor, or the king of France. In the beginning of this year he sent him, by William Barlow, bishop of St. Asaph, a long letter, explaining the reasons of his conduct in procuring a divorce from queen Catherine, and marrying Anne Boleyn; in withdrawing from the obedience of the pope, and in the other measures he was then pursuing. Not contented with this, he soon after sent lord William Howard, attended by a splendid retinue, into Scotland, with the ensigns of the order of the garter to the king. Lord William, accompanied by bishop Barlow, resided some time in Scotland, and had frequent conferences with the king; in which they endeavoured to convince him of the wisdom and rectitude of his uncle's proceedings, and to persuade him to imitate his example, by withdrawing from the obedience of the pope, and enriching the crown by seizing some of the superfluous wealth of the clergy, particularly of the monks. But the principal object of the ambassadors was, to prevail upon him to agree to an interview with his uncle at York. In order to this, they made him the most tempting offers; that Henry would create him duke of York and lieutenant of the kingdom, and declare him next in the line of succession to the crown after his own legitimate children, of which he had then only one daughter, an infant. The clergy of Scotland were greatly alarmed at the thoughts of this interview, and endeavoured to prevent it, by representing the
 extreme

A.D. 1534.

extreme danger of trusting his person to a prince who had claimed the superiority of his dominions, and still supported the Douglasses, who had usurped his authority, and deprived him of his liberty. To give weight to their arguments, they offered him a considerable sum of money as a free gift, and also an annual addition to his revenue. These arguments and offers prevailed, and determined James to decline the interview, but in the least offensive manner, and on some fair pretence. The council of Scotland, therefore, objected to York, as too distant, and proposed Newcastle, as a more proper place for the interview: and if this proposal had been fairly laid before Henry, it is probable he would have given his consent. But lord William Howard, who was young, proud, and passionate, being provoked that his offers had not been readily accepted, returned to London, and made a very unfavourable report to Henry of the dispositions of James and his ministers, which had a very unhappy effect, and produced a coolness between these two princes which was never removed ²²⁵.

Embassy
from
Rome.

The pope resolved to launch the thunders of the church against Henry VIII. and was anxious to secure the attachment of his nearest neighbour and relation, the king of Scots, to the holy see. With this view, he sent a legate into Scotland, with a letter and a consecrated cap and sword to the king, which were received with great respect and ceremony. The letter contained a most violent declamation against Henry, and an earnest exhortation

²²⁵ Herbert, p. 184. Buchan. p. 275.

to James, to employ all his power to extirpate so great a monster of iniquity from the earth. To this flaming epistle James returned a civil answer, assuring his holiness of his steady attachment to the church, and his resolution to suppress heresy in his own dominions ²²⁶.

A. D. 1534.

By the first act of a parliament that met at Edinburgh June 7th this year, 1535, holy church was secured in all her privileges, liberties, and immunities. By the second act of this parliament, those who lay under the sentence of excommunication above forty days are subjected to very severe penalties; "because the damnable persuasions and " perverse doctrines of heretics gave occasion to " many to despise that sentence, and other censures of holy church ²²⁷." Many excellent statutes were made in this parliament for establishing a strict police and regular administration of justice, which king James had very much at heart.

A. D. 1535.
Parliament.

Few princes have possessed more activity than James V. He sometimes spent whole days, and part of the night, on horseback, in his expeditions against the banditti of the borders and of the north. Having reduced those parts of his kingdom to tolerable order, he now resolved to visit the numerous islands with which it was surrounded, whose inhabitants paid little regard to government. He sailed from the Forth in July with five stout ships well manned, accompanied by the earls of Arran, Argyle, Huntley, and several other lords and gentlemen, and first visited Orkney, where he held

James
visits the
Isles.²²⁶ Lesly, p. 447.²²⁷ Black Acts, James V. f. 68.

A. D. 1535.

courts, and punished such as were found guilty of robbery, oppression, and other crimes. He then sailed to the Hebrides, or Western Isles; and as his arrival was unexpected, the proprietors and chieftains of those isles had no opportunity of escaping; he seized such of them as were accused of plundering their neighbours, or of making depredations on the continent, and imprisoned them in the castle of Dunbarton. In the whole of this voyage, he gave directions to make soundings, to examine the harbours, to measure the distances of one island from another, and from the continent; by which he gained a more perfect knowledge of these remote parts of his dominions than any of his predecessors. The observations that were made in this voyage were afterwards published for the benefit of navigators. He landed at St. Ninians in Galloway, and proceeded to Edinburgh, where he arrived towards the end of the year ¹⁵³⁵.

A. D. 1536.
Chieftains
confined.

As king James now meditated a more distant voyage he thought it prudent to order some of the most potent chieftains on the borders into confinement, to prevent disturbance in his absence. The laird of Buckleugh was confined in the castle of Edinburgh, lord Hume in the castle of Down, the laird of Farneherst in Falkland, and the laird of Johnstone in Dundee. This appears to us an arbitrary, but it was then a necessary, measure, for preserving peace with England, and preventing internal commotions. "Thereafter," says Pitscottie, "there was great peace and rest a long time, and

¹⁵³⁵ Drum. p. 303. Pitscottie, p. 152. Buchan. p. 279.

"the

“ the king had great profit ; for he had ten thousand sheep going in Eatrick forest, in keeping by Andrew Bell, who made the king as good account of them as if they had gone in the bounds of Fife ²²⁹.”

A. D. 1536.

King James next called a convention of his nobility, and communicated to them his intention of going to France to finish the negotiations of his marriage, which had been too long protracted, exhorted them to preserve peace and good order, and to be obedient to the regents he had appointed. A fleet of five ships being ready, he sailed from Leith July 24th, but was driven back into the Forth by a storm. Having repaired the damages the fleet had sustained, he sailed again from Kirkaldy August 31st, attended by a splendid train of his nobility, and in ten days landed at Dieppe in Normandy. From thence he proceeded with his suite to Rouen, where he was joined by the earls of Moray, Lennox, and Cassilis, the lord Erskine and the abbot of Arbroath from Paris. Resolved to see his intended bride, he went to Vendosme *incognito*; and not being so much charmed with her appearance as he expected, he returned to Rouen without being discovered, or at least without making any advances to the lady ²³⁰.

A decisive battle, it was then expected, would soon take place in Provence between the Imperial and French armies commanded by the emperor and the king of France. James, prompted by his natural intrepidity, and ardently desirous of fighting

King James married.

²²⁹ Pitiscottit, p. 153.²³⁰ Lesly, p. 442.

by

A. D. 1536.

by the side of the ancient ally of his family and country, set out immediately to join the French army; but before he reached the scene of action, the emperor had retired without fighting, and the king of France was on his return to his capital. As soon as Francis heard of the approach of the king of Scots, he dispatched the dauphin to meet and conduct him. When the two kings met, they embraced in the most affectionate manner, and proceeded together to Paris, where James was royally lodged and entertained. For some time there was nothing but a succession of feasts, and tilts and tournaments, at which martial exercises the young king acquired great honour, by his courage, strength, and dexterity. Having frequently seen and conversed with the princess Magdalene, he was charmed with her delicate beauties and gentle disposition; and the princess was no less charmed by the personal accomplishments and gallantry of her royal lover; and Francis, convinced of their mutual affection, no longer opposed their union. All preliminaries being settled, their marriage was solemnized with great pomp January 1st, A. D. 1537²³¹.

A. D. 1537.
Arrival of
the king
and queen.

James received with his royal bride a fortune of 100,000 crowns of the sun, with an annuity of 30,000 franks; and he settled upon her as great a jointure as any queen of Scotland had ever enjoyed. Francis detained his daughter and son-in-law at his court several months after their marriage. At length James becoming impatient to return to

²³¹ Lefly, p. 442, 443.

A.D. 1537.

his own dominions, Francis made him a gift of two ships laden with cannon and military stores, and loaded him and his queen with presents of plate and jewels. The king, with his queen and court, arrived at Rouen in the beginning of April, and there (April 3d) executed a deed of great importance; *viz.* a revocation of all grants that had been made from the crown, of lands, rents, offices, wardships, &c. during his minority²³². This was not intended to be executed, but to be kept as a rod over the heads of those who had received these grants, to secure their good behaviour, that they might not be actually resumed. The king, queen, and all their suite, attended by the high admiral of France, and a splendid train of lords and ladies, sailed from Newport in the end of April, and landed at Leith May 17th. They were there received with the strongest expressions of respect and joy by a prodigious confluence of ladies, lords, and gentlemen, who had come from all parts of the kingdom to congratulate the king and queen on their arrival. The queen, by her gentleness and affability, gained the hearts of all who approached her; and this marriage gave universal satisfaction²³³.

This joy was soon succeeded by a sorrow no less universal. The young queen was seized with a fever in the end of June, and died at Holyroodhouse about the middle of July, to the unspeakable grief of her royal consort, and the great concern of her subjects²³⁴.

The
queen's
death.

²³² Black Acts, James V. f. 76.²³³ Lell. p. 445, &c.²³⁴ Lell. p. 445, &c.

A. D. 1537.

Execu-
tions.

James was at all times a severe justiciary; but about this time his severity degenerated into cruelty, and two executions took place that fixed an indelible stain upon his memory. John, eldest son of lord Forbes, was a dissolute youth, surrounded by dissolute companions, among whom was one Strahan, a fellow of low birth and profligate manners. This fellow being refused a favour by Forbes, went to the earl of Huntley, (between whose family and that of the Forbeses a feud had long subsisted,) and informed him, that Forbes had been engaged in a plot to kill the king several years before. Forbes was apprehended, condemned, and executed, on the sole evidence of this worthless informer. He was generally believed to have been innocent of the crime for which he suffered, but his notorious profligacy made him be little regretted. The other execution was far more piteous and deplorable. Lady Jean Douglas, sister to the banished earl of Angus, was a lady of great beauty and virtue. She was first married to the lord Glamis, and after his death to Archibald Campbell of Keepneth. In her widowhood she had been courted by John Lyon, a near relation of her first husband, who was so much enraged at her rejecting him, that he accused her and her husband, and her son lord Glamis, who was a mere boy, and an old priest, of a plot to poison the king. Nothing could be more improbable than this accusation. They lived privately at a great distance from the court, with which they had no communication. They were all, however, seized, and committed to prison in
the

A. D. 1537.

the castle of Edinburgh. The lady was brought to her trial, and though she defended herself with great presence of mind and the most pathetic eloquence, she was found guilty by a majority of the jury, and condemned to the flames. This cruel sentence was executed on the castle-hill of Edinburgh, in the presence of a prodigious crowd of spectators. Her youth, her beauty, and her noble birth, but above all, the calm intrepidity with which she submitted to her cruel fate, made a deep impression on all who beheld the affecting scene, and they went away convinced that this unfortunate lady had fallen a sacrifice to the king's implacable hatred to her family. How much should princes guard against implacability? Her husband was killed in attempting to escape from the castle. Her son lord Glamis was detained in prison till after the king's death. The old priest, being as contemptible as he was innocent, was set at liberty. Lyon, the author of all this misery, was soon after seized with remorse, and confessed the falsehood of his accusation, for which he was banished. A punishment as much too slight as the other was too severe²¹⁵.

James did not long continue a widower. When he was in France he had seen and admired Mary of Lorraine, daughter of René duke of Guise, and widow of the duke of Longueville; and about three months after the death of his queen, he sent his natural brother, the earl of Moray, and his favourite, David Beaton, (who had lately been made

A. D. 1538.
The king's
second
marriage.

²¹⁵ Lefly, p. 446.

A. D. 1538.

a cardinal,) to the French court, to demand that lady in marriage. The proposal was agreeable to the king, the lady, and her family, and the marriage was solemnized by proxy January 10th, A. D. 1538 at Paris, in presence of the whole court. The lord Maxwell was sent with a fleet to bring home the new queen, who landed at Cryle in Fife in the beginning of June, was conducted to St. Andrews, and there married to the king in person by the archbishop James Beaton²³⁶. Several months after this marriage were spent in visiting the principal towns of the kingdom, into which the queen was welcomed, and entertained with pageants, maskings, and other amusements usual in those times; and she rendered herself very popular by her affability, and the high satisfaction she expressed at the manner of her reception²³⁷.

A. D. 1539.
Birth of a
prince.

Scotland at this time enjoyed both external and internal quiet, which in those days was not very common. The pleasure which this gave, both to the king and his subjects, was much increased by the birth of a prince at St. Andrews April 10th. The prince at his baptism was named James, and proclaimed prince of Scotland and duke of Rothesay²³⁸. James Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews, died soon after he had performed this ceremony, and was succeeded by his nephew cardinal David Beaton, bishop of Merepoix in France, and abbot of Arbroath in Scotland, the king's great confident and prime minister²³⁹.

²³⁶ Buchan. p. 277. Drum. p. 315. ²³⁷ Lefly, p. 447, 448.

²³⁸ Lefly, p. 449, 450.

²³⁹ Ibid.

Henry VIII. was at this time in no little perplexity. The pope had at length published the dreaded sentence of excommunication against him; exhorting and commanding all Christian princes to make war upon him, as a rebel against God and his vicar upon earth ²⁴⁰. An interview had taken place between the pope, the emperor, and the king of France, at Nice, that gave him great alarm. He knew that many of his own subjects were discontented, and that cardinal Pole and others fomented those discontents. He was anxious, therefore, to discover the sentiments and secure the friendship of his nearest relation and neighbour the king of Scots. In order to effect this, he dispatched sir Ralph Sadler as his ambassador to the court of Scotland; and to procure him a favourable reception, sent with him a present of fine horses, of which he knew James was exceedingly fond. He was furnished also with very particular instructions; 1. To discover how James stood affected toward his uncle. 2. Whether he had said, "That whatever the emperor and the king of France did against Henry, he would do the same?" 3. To endeavour to raise suspicions in his mind against cardinal Beaton. 4. To persuade him to enrich the crown with the spoils of the monasteries. 5. To prevail upon him to have an interview with his uncle. The ambassador was admitted to a private audience in February, soon after his arrival; in which he very artfully introduced all the subjects in his instructions. James

A. D. 1540.

Embassy
from Eng-
land.²⁴⁰ Lefly, p. 449, 450.

A. D. 1540.

expressed his esteem and affection for his uncle the king of England, and his desire to cultivate his friendship in very strong terms. He denied, with many oaths, that he had ever used the expressions imputed to him, and declared he was not to be influenced by the persuasions or example of other princes. But when the ambassador introduced the subject of cardinal Beaton, he found his confidence and attachment to him was too strong to be shaken, and was glad to change the conversation. He was equally inflexible as to the monasteries. They were ancient establishments, he said, for the worship of God; that it was unjust to punish the whole, for the faults of a few; that he would do nothing contrary to his conscience, to please any man; and that he was under no necessity to seize their revenues, because they were always ready to give him whatever he demanded of them. He expressed no aversion to an interview with his uncle, but proposed that the king of France should also be present. When the ambassador represented the inconveniency with which that would be attended, he put an end to the conversation, by saying he would talk with him more fully on that subject at another time. The ambassador had an audience of the king when he took his leave, in which, it is probable, the subject of the interview was discussed and settled ²⁴¹.

Death of
the two
princes.

The queen was delivered of a prince at Stirling in the summer, who was named Arthur, but died on the eighth day after his birth. On the same

²⁴¹ Spiller's Letters, p. 2—64.

day his elder brother, prince James, died at St. Andrews. The king's mind received so violent a shock by the loss of his two only sons in one day, that he never recovered his former cheerfulness, and sometimes sunk into deep dejection. To divert his melancholy, the court made a progress into the north after the queen's recovery. They were attended by the noblemen and gentlemen of the country through which they passed, and entertained in the most respectful and affectionate manner. At Aberdeen they spent fifteen days; and the city, the university, and the clergy, made the greatest efforts to procure them a variety of amusements. They spent some days at Dundee and Falkland, and then returned to Edinburgh ²⁴².

A. D. 1540

A constant intercourse was kept up during all this year between the two British courts, for regulating the time, place, and other circumstances of the intended interview; and Henry afterwards complained that he had been shamefully imposed upon by the fair speeches of the Scots ambassadors, and the friendly affectionate strain of king James's letters ²⁴³. Upon the whole, there seems to be sufficient evidence, that king James had actually agreed and promised to meet his uncle at York, and that he really intended to do it, though he was afterwards prevailed upon to change his mind.

Interview
agreed
upon.

A parliament met at Edinburgh December 3d this year, in which the revocation that had been made by the king at Rouen was ratified and confirmed; and all the great estates of the Douglasses,

Parliament.

²⁴² Lessly, p. 451.²⁴³ Hollinsh. p. 323.

A.D. 1540.

and of all who had followed their fortunes, were annexed to the crown²⁴⁴. Besides these, the isles of Orkney and Shetland, several of the western isles, the earldom of Bothwell, the lordships of Glamis and Avondale, and many other estates, were also annexed to the crown by the same parliament. This was probably done by the superior influence of the clergy in the parliaments of those times, to save their own possessions, and to gratify the king's rapacity, (which was become very great,) at the expence of the laity.

A.D. 1541.
Intrigues.

The court of Scotland was at that time full of factions and intrigues about the approaching interview with the king of England. The nobility in general, and more particularly such of them as secretly favoured the reformation of the church, (which were not a few,) and hated the clergy for their pride and cruelty, and envied them for their wealth, wished for the interview, and endeavoured to persuade the king to keep his appointment with his uncle, by representing how much a good understanding between them would redound to his own advantage, and to the peace and prosperity of both kingdoms. On the other hand, there was nothing the clergy dreaded so much as this interview with an excommunicated heretic, who had renounced the authority of the pope, demolished the monasteries, and laid his unhallowed hands on the sacred patrimony of the church; especially as they well knew that Henry had solicited this interview so earnestly, in order to persuade his nephew to

²⁴⁴ Black Acts, James V. f. 77, &c.

imitate

A. D. 1541.

imitate his example: they endeavoured therefore by every possible means to dissuade and deter James from keeping the appointment: they represented to him the extrême danger of venturing his person so far into the dominions of a prince so powerful and ambitious as Henry; and did not neglect to put him in mind of the dishonourable detention and long imprisonment of his ancestor James I., and to desire him to reflect, that this interview might endanger his salvation as well as his liberty, by infecting him with the infernal poison of heresy, and expose him to the dreadful sentence of excommunication. These arguments were well adapted to influence a prince who was abundantly superstitious, and knew nothing of the controversy. But they used a still more powerful argument, which they knew he could not resist: they promised to advance a great sum of money immediately, to add fifty thousand crowns a year to his revenue, and that if a war ensued, they would support him with all their wealth. These promises turned the scale, and James resolved not to attend the interview ²⁴⁵.

As Henry knew nothing of this resolution, he directed great preparations to be made at York for the entertainment of the king of Scotland, and came to that city in August with a numerous and splendid retinue. After waiting some days, a messenger arrived with letters from James, containing the strongest professions of respect and affection to his uncle, but excusing himself from attending the interview, because he was engaged in some affairs

Interview
prevented.

²⁴⁵ Herbert, p. 327. Lesly, p. 453—454. Buchan. p. 278.

of

A.D. 1541.

of importance, which made it improper for him to leave his kingdom, and that he would soon send an ambassador to explain his reasons more fully. Henry, who was naturally proud and passionate, was exceedingly enraged at this affront. His anger was much inflamed by the intelligence he soon after received, that a party of Scots had made an incursion into Northumberland, and plundered the country. He determined therefore to be revenged on the king and kingdom of Scotland, for the insults he had received. But on his arrival at Westminster in September, the discovery of the incontinence of his beloved queen Catherine Howard, enaged his whole attention for a considerable time, and diverted him from prosecuting this revenge against Scotland ²⁴⁶.

A.D. 1542.

Though king James had been prevailed upon not to attend the interview at York, he wished to avoid a war if possible. With this view he sent ambassadors to the court of England in December 1541, to sooth and appease the resentment of his highly-offended uncle. These ambassadors (Henry says) "gave him good words, sweet words, pleasant words, not only to excuse what was past, but also to persuade kindness and perfect amity to ensue ²⁴⁷". They so far succeeded, that they prevailed upon Henry to appoint commissioners to meet with those of Scotland upon the borders, to settle all disputes. The commissioners of both nations accordingly met, but they could come to no agreement about a certain district of no great

²⁴⁶ Hollingh. p. 323.²⁴⁷ Ibid.

extent or value on the border, to which each country claimed a right. They separated, however, in a friendly manner, and the wardens on both sides issued their orders for preserving peace ²⁴⁸.

A. D. 1542

As the borderers knew that there was a misunderstanding between the two kings, they paid little or no regard to these orders. A considerable body of Scots entered England July 4th, and committed great depredations. King James, still wishing to prevent a war, dispatched sir James Learmont of Dearsay to the court of England, to apologise for this outrage, and offer reparation of all injuries that had been done. But while the ambassador was soothing Henry with promises of the most ample reparation, and the strongest assurances of future peace, the Scots borderers made another incursion into England, no less destructive than the former. Henry's patience was now exhausted. He sent a fleet into the Forth, which captured twenty-eight merchant ships; and he commanded sir Robert Bowes, captain of Norham castle, and warden of the east marches, to invade Scotland with all the forces he could raise to retaliate the late injuries. Sir Robert, accompanied by the earl of Angus, his brother sir George Douglas, the gentlemen of Northumberland and Durham, with their followers, entered Tiviotdale, designing to destroy the towns of Jedburgh and Kelso; but they were encountered at Hadden-rig August 24th, and, after a sharp conflict, totally defeated by the earl of Huntley and lord Hume: sir Robert Bowes, and

War.

²⁴⁸ Hollingh. p. 323.

A. D. 1542. his brother sir John Withrington, sir Ralph Ivers, sir Brian Latoun, Mr. Heron, and about two hundred other gentlemen, were made prisoners ²⁴⁹.

Negotiations.

Henry, irritated at this defeat, and still more at the refusal of the Scots to ransom their prisoners, commanded the duke of Norfolk at the head of a great army, attended by the earls of Shrewsbury, Derby, Cumberland, Rutland, Angus, and Surry, to march into Scotland, and take a severe revenge for all the injuries he had received. James, not yet prepared to resist so great a force, tried to divert the storm, by sending the lord Erskine, and some other commissioners, to negotiate a peace or truce, or at least to gain a little time. They met the English army at York; and Henry, after all that had happened, gave a commission to the duke of Norfolk, the lord privy seal, and the bishop of Durham, to treat with them. Henry, notwithstanding his expensive preparations for war, seems to have wished for peace, and to have desired to gain, rather than to distress, his nephew. The conduct of the Scots commissioners makes it probable that their desire of peace was not so strong as they pretended. They profess that they came with a design to settle all the preliminaries of an interview between the two monarchs; but when they produced their commission, it was found that they had no power to treat of an interview. They then asked six days to procure a more ample commission, which was granted: but when the new commission arrived, it gave them power to agree to an inter-

²⁴⁹ Hollingh. p. 323; Lesly, p. 456. Buchan. p. 279.

view,

view, but fixed the time, place, and the other circumstances of the meeting, without a power to depart from one article. The English commissioners observing that this was not to treat but to dictate, the Scots requested time to procure more unlimited powers. This third commission was unexceptionable; but it was accompanied with instructions not to recede from one article in their former commission. When the English discovered this, they put an end to the conferences in which they had lost so much time²⁵⁰.

Francis I. who was at this time at variance with Henry VIII. sent an ambassador to king James, with a supply of military stores, and assurances of effectual support in a war with England. Encouraged by these assurances, and his late success at Hadden-rig, and spirited up by his clergy, he resolved on war, and summoned his nobles and barons to a rendezvous at Falamuir, with all their followers in arms, to repel the English, who intended to invade the kingdom²⁵¹.

As soon as the conferences at York broke up, Henry commanded the duke of Norfolk to proceed with his army to the invasion of Scotland; and at the same time published a very long manifesto of the reasons of the war. In the first part of this curious publication, he magnifies his own great humanity and tenderness in not crushing his nephew in his infancy, and conquering his kingdom, when it was in such confusion that it could have made little resistance. He then displays in strong colours

²⁵⁰ Hollingh. p. 384.²⁵¹ Lessy, p. 456.

A. D. 1542.

James's ingratitude for this extraordinary kindness, his receiving English rebels, his refusing to ransom English prisoners, his defeating an English army that had been sent to plunder his country, his refusing to resign a certain district on the borders, his permitting his subjects to make incursions into England, and his breach of faith in not attending the interview at York. In the last part he insists at great length on the superiority of the kings of England over the kingdom of Scotland, which he derives from his illustrious predecessor Brute the Trojan. He concludes with a declaration, that he did not make war to establish that superiority, but to punish the ingratitude and unkindness of his nephew king James, in whose veins the royal blood of England was chilled by the cold air of Scotland ²⁵².

Invasion.

The duke of Norfolk had been so long detained with his army at York, that they did not enter Scotland till October 1st, or penetrate above two miles into the country. The people had removed their cattle and corn from the borders; and the earl of Huntley, the lord Hume, and other chieftains hovering about them, prevented their foraging, and harassed them by frequent skirmishes. The duke, considering that the season was too far advanced, the enemy too well prepared, and that provisions were becoming scarce, repassed the Tweed in a few days, with no little precipitation, and considerable loss of men and horses ²⁵³.

²⁵² Hollingh. p. 322—328.²⁵³ Lesly, p. 457.

A. D. 1542.

King James, who lay at this time in Etrick forest with an army of thirty thousand men, called a council of war, and proposed to pursue the enemy, and invade England; on which he left them to deliberate. But the members of the council were almost unanimous in their opposition to this proposal, the deplorable disaster of Flodden-field being still fresh in their memories. They represented therefore to the king, by their general the earl of Moray, his natural brother, that he had done enough for his own honour, and the protection of his subjects, by compelling the enemy to retire, without having done any mischief; that though they had retired, they had not disbanded, and would soon be reinforced; that the season of the year was too far advanced; that it would be exceedingly imprudent to expose his royal person to danger, when he had no issue to succeed him; and finally, they put him in mind of the untimely fate of his heroic father on a similar occasion. This remonstrance threw James into a most violent rage and perturbation. He exclaimed against his nobles as traitors and poltroons, and threatened them with the severest vengeance, declaring that he would execute what they had not the courage to attempt²³⁴. The army disbanded and the king returned to Edinburgh.

James did not remain long at Edinburgh. The lord Maxwell, a brave and loyal nobleman, warden of the west marches, desirous of dissipating the chagrin and appeasing the anger of his sovereign,

Expedition.

²³⁴ Buchan. and Lestly, *ibid.* Drummond, p. 341.

proposed

A. D. 1542.

proposed to make an attempt upon Cumberland, if a competent force could be collected with secrecy and expedition. Cardinal Beaton and the clergy (who were the real authors and fomenters of this war) exerted themselves with great diligence, by sending messengers and writing letters to their dependants and friends, to go immediately with their followers in arms into Annandale, where they would be informed of the service in which they were to be employed. Several noblemen engaged in this expedition, and an army of ten thousand men was assembled with great secrecy in a very short time. The king rode privately with a few attendants to Lochmaben, where the troops rendezvoused: from thence they marched (with a train of artillery for besieging Carlisle) towards England.

The sudden unexpected approach of so great an army, caused a prodigious alarm in Cumberland. The warden lord Wharton, and the gentlemen of the country, immediately flew to arms, and with about five hundred horse advanced to the banks of the Esk, to retard the passage of the enemy, and give time to their country to arm; but when they reached the rising grounds above Netherby, and had a full view of the Scots army, they observed that all was in confusion and disorder, and saw great bodies of men retiring, or rather flying different ways. This strange appearance was owing to the following cause:—The clergy, and particularly cardinal Beaton, had inspired King James (who was naturally of a suspicious temper) with a

violent jealousy of and animosity against his nobility, as secret favourers of heresy, and friends to England. This animosity was greatly inflamed by their late refusal to invade that kingdom. Though he permitted therefore the lord Maxwell, who had planned this expedition, to conduct the army to the border, he secretly gave a commission to Oliver Sinclair, one of his most hated minions, to be general and commander in chief as soon as they entered England. Oliver, proud of his elevation, when the army was preparing to pass the Esk, November 25th, produced his commission, and caused himself to be raised on the shoulders of two tall men and proclaimed general. It is impossible to conceive the consternation and confusion this produced. The noblemen and principal gentlemen resolved to give themselves up prisoners to the English, rather than fight under the banner of such a contemptible leader, or expose themselves to the fury of their infatuated sovereign. The common people, seeing all subordination at an end, went off in companies, and returned to their own homes. The English, perceiving the disorder of their enemies increasing, and their army disbanding, passed the river, and made as many prisoners as they pleased, without losing or drawing one drop of blood. Among the prisoners were, two earls, Cassilis and Glencairn; five lords, Maxwell, Sommerville, Gray, Oliphant, and Fleming; with the master of Erskine, Oliver Sinclair, and about two hundred other gentlemen²⁵⁵.

²⁵⁵ Lefly, p. 458. Buchan. p. 279.

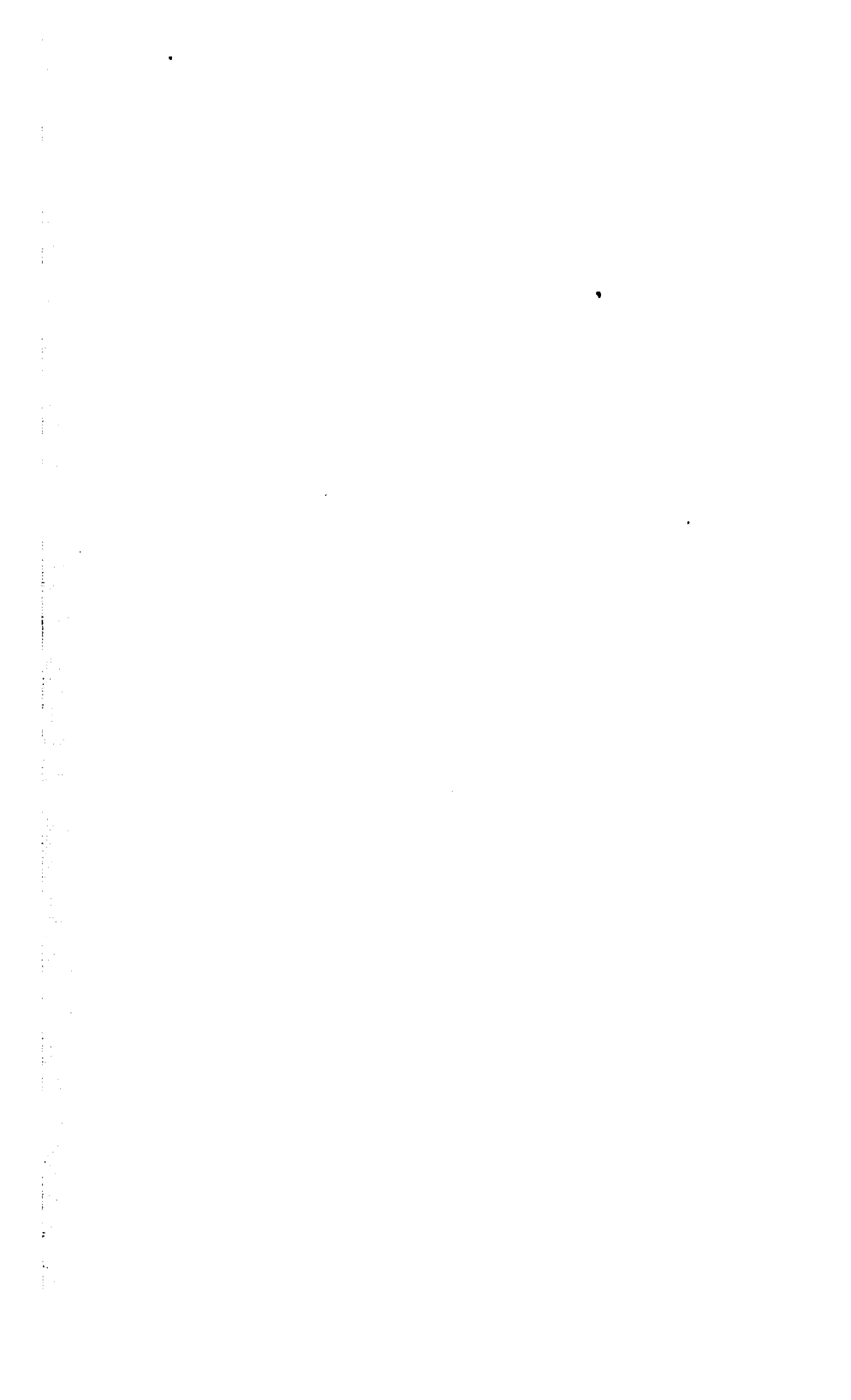
A. D. 1542.

The news of this most disgraceful affair threw king James into a perturbation and depression of spirits, from which he never recovered. Next day he returned to Edinburgh, from whence he went to Falkland, where, excluding all company except a few of his favourite domestics, through want of sleep and anguish of mind he was soon confined to his bed. When in this condition, the news arrived that his queen was delivered of a princess at Linlithgow. But this gave him no comfort. "The English," said he, "will either conquer the kingdom in her minority, or will acquire it by marriage." After languishing a few days longer, he expired December 13th, A. D. 1542, in the thirty-first year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign²⁵⁶.

²⁵⁶ *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, tom. ii. p. 157.







JUL 9 - 1930